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A N
Impartial Representation
OF THE
C O N D U C T
Of the SEVERAL
POWERS of EUROPE,
Engaged in the LATE
GENERAL WAR:

Including authentic Accounts of all the
MILITARY, and NAVAL, OPERATIONS;
FROM THE
Commencement of Hostilities between the Crowns
of GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN, in 1739.
TO THE
Conclusion of the GENERAL TREATY of PACI-
FICATION, at AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

By **RICHARD ROLT.**
IN FOUR VOLUMES.
VOL. IV.

L O N D O N:

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AN
IMPARTIAL REPRODUCTION
OF THE
CONDUGT
OF THE
POWERS & EUROPE
IN THE
GENERAL WAR



BY RICHARD ROBY
IN FOUR VOLUMES
OF
LONDON

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To the Right Honourable

G E O R G E
EARL of HALIFAX.

MY LORD,



THE man whose patri-
otical virtue obtains the
private approbation of
his sovereign, is highly
meritorious of the pub-
lic praise of his country: history
was intended to illustrate such ac-
tions as are capable of conveying a
noble, a generous, an instructive
example to futurity; this incites the
brave

brave and magnanimous, to acquire the appellation of great and glorious, by the accomplishment of virtuous and honourable deeds; this frequently deters the base and vicious from the continuance of sordid and ignominious practices: the virtues of Scipio ennobled the young heart of the imperial Czar, with that humanity which cultivated the rude inhabitants of the Pole; while the glory of the Macedonian hero inspired the royal Swede with that martial disposition, which sacrifices all the blessings of tranquility at the shrine of ambition: history is a more faithful counsellor than ever surrounded the throne of royalty; here princes may learn to detest the abominable reign of a Nero, and here they are taught to revere the amiable memory of a Trajan.

WREATHES of laurel, chaplets of oak, and garlands of myrtle, were the peculiar honours of antiquity
that

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that invested the brows of a conqueror, a patriot, or a sage ; titles and prerogatives were the invention of more effeminate ages : however, even in the degeneracy of mankind, it was both a laudable and profitable custom to reward the valour, and acknowledge the merit, of brave, wise, good, and excellent men, by such honorary dignities as exalted them above the common, the ignoble class of their countrymen. The liberality of Augustus Cæsar, always accompanied merit in pecuniary rewards ; but he was extremely parsimonious in recompences of honour, notwithstanding he had been lavishly gratified by his uncle with military preferments, before he ever associated himself in the legionary profession ; and in this Augustus was the more commendable, because honour is a privilege which, as well as virtue, extracts its principal essence from excellency. Nobility, when properly conferred, is the progeny of merit,

and the reward of justice: how eminently is this evidenced in the illustrious house of Montague? Augustus must have applauded that royal regard to conspicuous merit; which has thus splendidly ennobled so great, so distinguished a family; a family that boasts a Montague, a Manchester, a Sandwich, and an Halifax; names that will dignify the age, names that must challenge respect from posterity!

TREGUS POMPEIUS affirms that Herostatus was more desirous of obtaining a great, than a good reputation; and Manlius Capitolinus has also the same charge exhibited against him by Livy: but it is more consonant to a true and wise magnanimity, to hold a good action in a more estimable light, than all the splendour resulting from an ostentatious glory. How much more commendable was the conduct of Atticus, who, while his country was
groaning

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groaning beneath the violence of intestine desolation, could confine himself to his rural seat, happy in an unmolested tranquility, happy tho' the favourite friend of the contending warriors? What Rome could boast of Atticus, Britain, MY LORD, is proud to survey in you; the candid, the disinterested patriot! the man who is equally a friend to honour, and a foe to faction! the man who disregards every private motive, and strenuously exerts all his soul for the general service of the community! Let the seasonable colonization of NOVA SCOTIA, perpetuate the name of HALIFAX, through the records of latest time, with all the lustre of a British patriot, a supporter of distress, and a friend to humanity: let the valuable establishment of the HERRING FISHERY, on the coasts of Scotland, loudly proclaim the lover of his country, the promoter of liberty, and the restorer of national opulence: these are actions truly

laudable,

DEDICATION.

laudable, truly glorious; actions intended to bless the indigent, to civilize the unpolished child of nature; actions more meritorious than all the triumphal pomp of military victory: these are the most noble, the most beneficent virtues; these, MY LORD, are yours; all Britain acknowledges so worthy a benefactor; and, while a whole nation ardently offers up its gratitude, the AUTHOR of this history thus takes an opportunity of publicly joining in the general praise, and of professing, to the world, how much, as an Englishman, he is bound to be,

MY LORD,

Your ever obliged, obedient,

and respectful servant,

R. ROLT.



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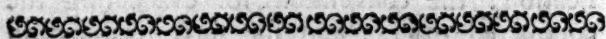
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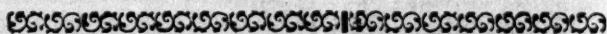


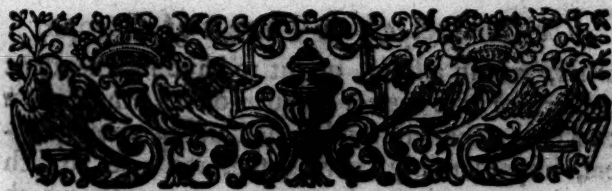
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Naval transactions in EUROPE and
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CHAPTER I.

Reflections on the maritime department of BRITAIN. A description of CAPE BRETON: the value of the fishery: the scheme, and preparations, for reducing it, by the assembly of NEW ENGLAND: the siege of LOUISBURG; and the expulsion of the FRENCH forces from the island.



THE distinctions of parties are often fallacious, and the preference of persons fatal; but the duty of an honest man, to his country, is clear, express, and determinate. Besides the general rules of all constitutions, particular bodies, and communities,

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I.

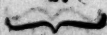
1745.

PART nities, within a state, ought to have independent

VI. powers for the better regulation of their own
 concerns: the wise and honest use of those pow-

1745. ers, imperceptibly, gives force, and ease, to such inferior operations of government, upon which those of the grand system, absolutely depend. Hence it was that the provident ancestors of the British inhabitants, ever encouraged a due subordination in trade, in arts, and manufactures; and, in well regulated communities, neither high qualities, nor great property, could intitle any of its members to unmerited preference: each ought to rise to honour, and weight, within his own sphere of action; not by pre-eminence of interest, but of desert; not by the force of opulence, but the length of experience. Of all departments of public business, the naval is of the greatest consequence to Britain, in time of war: but this had been long neglected; and, among the most flagrant abuses on the public, the most fatal, was, a disregard for all personal merit, in naval experience; and in making a parliamentary interest the only step by which the bravest, the oldest, and the ablest of the British seamen, could rise to the common justice due to their rank and services.

THERE is a great difference betwixt the station of land and sea officers, in subordinate authority: the first, though they are now fatally become, in some degree, interwoven with, and innovated as a part of, the British constitution, are under many restrictions from behaviour: their conduct may, at all times, be examined; their mistakes, whether wilful, designed, or accidental, may often be rectified, and their miscarriages sometimes retrieved: their command is greatly circumscribed, and it is but seldom they happen

happen to be in an independant sphere of action: CHAP.
add to all this, that the honour, interest, and I.
dignity, of the crown, and people of Britain, can, 
in no case, suffer by cowardice, or imprudence, 1745.
on land, in so conspicuous a degree as by sea.

Very different, therefore, is the case of insufficiency in a naval officer, and commander of a royal ship: such a man when engaged, or likely to be engaged, ought to know no other principle but that of executing his duty, be the consequence what it will: his command is often separate, and generally independent: he is intrusted in maintaining that high character, by which his country has become the wonder and envy of nations; which, was it forfeited, would sink her natives into the common herd of other miserable slaves, and dejected subjects: thus, as his trust is great, so ought his virtues, so ought his abilities, to be; for his mistakes are commonly irretrievable, and his miscarriages generally fatal: it is an extensive, an important duty: to think that it can be discharged without courage, is the same as attempting to read when the light is extinguished; to imagine it can be executed without abilities, is to think of breathing without air.

THE maritime oeconomy of Britain, had laboured under a triple complication of diseases; want of courage in some, want of abilities in more, and want of virtue in many; all equally fatal, all equally inglorious, and, formerly, all equally unknown to Englishmen. The nation might justly inquire where were the brave Britons, who condemned Kirby and Wade to suffer death for a neglect of duty, and exposing the noble Admiral Bembow to all the fury of a far superior force; which was pardonable, in com-

PART parison of what the gallant Admiral Mathews

VI. saw, when the British flag was ingloriously deserted, or ignominiously unsupported, in the Mediterranean? but the delinquents escaped the righteous severity of guilt-detering justice! though the death of Bembow was not suffered to pass with impunity; his betrayers had their sentence executed upon them, before they set their foot on shore; as if the government thought it was too much, that one element had been burthened with a British coward; or that it would have been reproachful for their country, had they been suffered to meet their deaths on that soil their lives had dishonoured.

1745.

THE British fleets had, indeed, been superior to those of their antagonists, from the commencement of the war; and, notwithstanding all miscarriages and misfortunes, had considerably impaired their strength, and reduced their commerce: but, then, the British ministers had hitherto thought it their duty, to confine their projects, as close as possible, within the bounds prescribed by parliament: whereas, when the Duke of Bedford obtained the ascendancy at the admiralty board, he took the whole direction so absolutely upon himself, that he would not suffer any ministerial interference in the smallest branch of his jurisdiction; and, what completed both his establishment, and his authority, all the successes of the war arose in his province: for his grace made no difficulty to rush into such expences, as greatly exceeded the grants annually made for that service; but, by this expenditure, the nation was enabled to beam forth the rays of that ancient glory, which illustrated her character, when the brave Admiral Russel defeated Monsieur de Tourville off Cape la Hogue: Britain, by this vigorous

vigorous exertion of her maritime force, was in a capacity to prove herself the mistress of the cerulean world; to obtain beneficial acquisitions; and to baffle the attempts of her implacable enemies.

CHAP.

I.

1745.

THE new lords of the admiralty, on their presiding at the board, issued strict orders to all the ships of war, in the several ports of the British dominions, to be fitted for immediate service; as an instance that the naval operations were the supreme dependence of the kingdom. Commodore Barnet was securely stationed, for the preservation of commerce, in the Indian ocean: Vice-Admiral Davers was seasonably sent for the protection of Jamaica, and the security of America; Vice-Admiral Medley was ordered to re-inforce the fleet in the Mediterranean; and the British coast was properly guarded, by cruizing vessels, to chastise the insolence of the French privateers: but the principal attention was directed to the transactions in the northern colonies of America; where the British subjects had formed the bold design of expelling the French from their settlement of Cape Breton: the scheme was so prudently conducted in America, and so vigilantly put in execution, that the French government were entirely unapprized of so important a resolution, till it was too late to make any opposition against the force under Commodore Warren; who, on the representation of the project to the British ministry, was ordered to quit his station, at the Leeward Islands, and take his squadron to the assistance of these brave adventurers in the reduction of the French colony.

AT the commencement of the French war, all the British colonies in North America began to be thoroughly sensible of the utility of Cape

1745.

Breton; for, in a few months, the inhabitants of this island infested the coasts of the British settlements, ruining their fishery, interrupting their navigation, destroying Canso, invading Annapolis, reducing the bordering colonies to many difficulties, and carrying their people captive into a place reported almost impregnable, a safe retreat to the French privateers and men of war, and to their West and East India fleets. This activity of the French, was the means of rousing up the British colonies to a true sense of their danger, and insecurity, while the French were in possession of Cape Breton, the richest jewel that had ever adorned their crown from America, and which had cost them nine millions of livres in establishing the settlement.

CAPE BRETON is situated between sixty-one and sixty-two degrees of west longitude, and between forty-five and forty-eight degrees of north latitude; and, with Newfoundland, about sixteen leagues distant from it, forms the south entry of the bay, or gulph, of St Laurence: the strait of Canso, which separates it from Nova Scotia, is little more than five leagues in length, and one in breadth: so that the possession of this island commands the navigation to Canada, by the river of St Laurence. The island is about 150 miles in length, from N. E. to S. W. and about ninety-nine broad from E. to W. its shape is very irregular, being so deeply indented with rivers and lakes, that the north and south parts, are only joined by an isthmus, of about 600 yards over, which separates the bottom of the bay of Toulouse, near the mouth of the strait of Canso, from the lakes of Labrador, that discharge themselves into the Atlantic ocean, by two channels, of unequal breadth,

breadth, formed by the isle of Verderonne, or CHAP.
de la Boularderie, which is about twenty-two I.
miles in length. The climature of this isle is not 1745.
very different from that of Quebec, and Canada; and, though the fogs are more frequent here, the air is not reckoned unhealthy: the soil is tolerably good, and the mountains may be cultivated even to the tops; but the best lands are such as incline to the south, being defended from the N. and N. W. winds, by the mountains which lie on the side of the river of St Laurence. The Marquis du Maisson Fort has reported, that, in the year 1732, the island produced a considerable quantity of grain; but though there were more than 4,000 inhabitants, they found their account much better in fishing than husbandry; which consequently occasioned the land to lie waste, the natives procuring all necessaries by their fish. Here are oaks, of a prodigious size; pine trees, fit for masts; and, in general, all sorts of timber, especially the cedar, the ash, the maple, the plane, and the asp. Domestic animals, such as horses, black cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry, thrive well: though hunting, and fishing, yield the inhabitants a plentiful subsistence for a great part of the year; for no place in the world abounds more plentifully with cod, or has greater conveniences for drying it; and the fishery for seals, porpoises, and sea-cows, is both easy and profitable: here are several good mines of excellent coal, which, as they lie on the mountainous part of the isle, require no necessity of digging for them: and there is also a good quantity of lime stone. All the frequented ports of this island lie from the east, inclining to the south, for fifty-five leagues, beginning from Port Dauphin to Port Toulouse;

PART and are, the bay of Gabaron; the port of Louis-
 VI. burg; port de Baleine; the bays of Panadou,
 Miray, Morienne, Indiana, Spanish bay, and
 1745. Port Dauphin: the northern coast is very steep,
 and inaccessible; as is also the western side, to
 the streight of Canso; and all the rest of the coast
 scarce affords anchorage, but for small barks, in
 the little bays, between the isles.

THE French had strongly fortified Louisburg,
 the principal town in the island, which they
 were sensible was naturally seated for a staple of
 trade, between Old and New France: they found
 it was able, of its own growth, to supply Old
 France with fish, train-oil, pit-coal, lime, and
 timber for building; and to furnish New
 France with European commodities, at a
 cheap and profitable rate; whereby the two
 colonies, mutually assisting each other, were
 equally beneficial to themselves, and the whole
 nation of France: besides, there was no safer or
 more convenient retreat for ships bound from all
 parts of America, whether chased by enemies,
 surprized by bad weather, or in want of water,
 wood, or provisions: and, in time of war, this
 port might send out cruisers to ruin the trade of
 New England, and seize upon the whole of the
 cod fishery; which would enable the French to
 furnish Spain and the Levant, with that com-
 modity, and so introduce a wider channel of
 opulence into the dominions of France. This
 sufficiently demonstrates the expectation of the
 French from the colony of Cape Breton, what
 encouragement it had, how fast it grew, and
 how greatly beneficial it must have been, in a
 number of years more, to France; from whence
 the colonists must, have received every necessary of
 life, and paid for them out of this valuable fishery:
 for,

for, since the treaty of Utrecht, the French, by the advantage of this island, carried on an un-
bounded fishery, annually employing at least
1,000 sail, from 200 to 400 ton, and 20,000
seamen; and the produce of their labour was
so great, that, in the year 1730, there was a
computation made of 220,000 quintals of fish at
Marseilles only, for a market; though, it was
affirmed, by a gentleman conversant in this
branch of commerce, that, one year with ano-
ther, they cured above five millions of quintals;
which, if true, would produce, at 10s. a quin-
tal, a return of 2,500,000*l.* for this fishery of
the subjects of France; but, possibly, this cal-
culation was exaggerated, to shew what an ex-
traordinary commerce, in a manner, entirely
depended on the possession of Cape Breton.

How dangerous a nursery of seamen this island
has therefore been, and ever will be, while in
possession of the French, is too obvious to a
British constitution; and it was as demonstrable,
that the recovery of so important a place would
entirely break up their fishery, and destroy this
formidable seminary of seamen. These reflec-
tions preponderated over other schemes, con-
certed among some of the principal inhabitants
of New England, as most conducive both for
the security of the British colonies, and for the
subversion of the French: therefore the impor-
tance of Cape Breton, to the British nation, was
candidly stated, and a plan projected for the re-
duction of this valuable island, by Robert Auck-
mury, Esq; a native of Scotland, and judge ad-
vocate of the court of admiralty in New Eng-
land; which was strongly recommended to the
governor and assembly of that colony, and ap-
pears

CHAP.

I.

1745.

PART VI. appears to be the same plan which was afterwards pursued in obtaining so noble an acquisition.

1745.

MR AUCKMUTY represented " THAT, if
 " the French were happily removed from this
 " advantageous shelter, no protection would be
 " left them, on the fishing ground, nearer than
 " Old France: therefore they would not expose
 " themselves to the frequent surprizes, and cap-
 " tures, of the English from this island, and
 " the continent; but, finally, would be ob-
 " liged to quit the undertaking, leaving the
 " English in the sole possession of this most va-
 " luable branch of trade, which annually would
 " return to the British nation two millions ster-
 " ling, for the manufactures yearly shipped to
 " her plantations; and constantly employ thou-
 " sands of families, otherwise unserviceable to
 " the public: it would also prodigiously increase
 " shipping, navigation, and mariners: besides,
 " while the English solely supplied foreign mar-
 " kets with this commodity, Roman Catholic
 " families must have a sort of dependency on
 " the British nation. THAT the acquisition of
 " this important island, would cut off all com-
 " munication between France and Quebec, the
 " navigation to Canada river bearing near it;
 " and must obstruct the French navigation,
 " through the bay of St Laurence, to the only
 " possessions the French enjoy upon the sea-coast
 " to the northward of Louisiana, in the great
 " bay of Mexico. By this means, Quebec
 " must, in the run of very little time, fall into
 " the possession of the English; and the Indi-
 " ans, wanting the usual protection, and sup-
 " plies, from France, would be obliged to sol-
 " licit the English for both; and having once
 " experienced the treatment of both nations, as
 " the

“ the latter could supply them cheaper and bet- CHAP.
“ ter than the former, they would consequently I/
“ be rivetted to the interest of Britain: by
“ which the English would render themselves 1745.
“ entirely masters of a rich and profitable furr
“ trade, then principally engrossed by the French.
“ But the consideration alone, that the British
“ navigation, and settlements, on the sea-coasts
“ throughout North America, lay terribly ex-
“ posed to men of war, and privateers, from
“ Cape Breton, claimed an attention to proper
“ measures for immediately regaining possession
“ of it: for, from this island, the French, with
“ ease and little time, might station themselves
“ in latitudes proper to intercept the navigation
“ between Great Britain and her plantations,
“ and the intercourse of trade subsisting between
“ one plantation and another, by captures sup-
“ plying themselves with English manufactures,
“ naval stores, and provisions; and, from its
“ vicinity with the continent, might surprize
“ the British settlements all along the coast, and
“ take the mast ships, when loaded, out of
“ Canso and Portsmouth harbours: whereas the
“ accession of this island, to the British domi-
“ nions, would not only secure the navigation,
“ and guard the coasts in America, but would
“ be a safe retreat for the British men of war in
“ the hurricane months, or when threatened
“ with a superior force; besides that they might
“ refit there with safety, and less expence to the
“ crown, than in any other harbour in North
“ America.” Mr Auckmuty then offered his
proposals for executing the undertaking, both in
respect to the land and naval forces, the time
for commencing the expedition, and the proba-
bility

PART bility of the attempt from the ill-provided condition of the French at Louisburg.
VI.

1745.

WILLIAM VAUGHAN, Esq; a gentleman of considerable rank and fortune in the colony of New England, communicated this project to William Shirley, Esq; Governor of the Massachusetts colony, the principal subdivision of New England; who laid it before the general court of that province, then assembled at Boston: though, when the affair was originally debated, the difficulties seemed so numerous, and the expence so sinking, that the assembly saw no light to venture on such an important enterprize, without a powerful, previous, assistance from England. This no ways intimidated the projectors: Mr Vaughan, and his friends, founded the inclination of the principal inhabitants, and found them concurrently ready to embark in the design: they examined several prisoners returned from Cape Breton, who gave them the most sanguine expectations of the facility of reducing the place, by an early surprizal: they had received information that the store ships from France had been driven off to Martinico; and they were fully sensible that the redundant store of provisions, which the last summer had bountifully spread over the British colonies, would be sufficient to supply the intended armament. Mr Vaughan, therefore, made these further representations to the assembly, conjuring them to embrace so seasonable an opportunity of exerting their loyalty, their courage, and their abilities: the affair was re-considered; and, in the absence of divers representatives, who judged it too vast an undertaking, the final resolution, in favour of the enterprize, was taken on the 25th of January; though it was then only

only carried by the majority of a single voice. CHAP.
Through the solicitations of Governor Shirley, I.
the brave and active Commodore Warren, a
great friend to the northern colonies, was order- 1745.
ed, by the British government, to repair immediately, with three men of war, from Antigua to Boston, and contribute to the success of the expedition: the general assembly at Boston granted 27,000*l.* sterling, to be raised, by way of lottery, for this service; the first instance of any thing of the kind, erected by authority, in America: the secrecy in consultations; with the extraordinary management, and dispatch, in providing the levies, and preparations, both for the army and the navy, met with such little impediment, that the troops were assembled, and the fleet ready to sail, while the rest of the world had scarce any intelligence of it: and, as soon as the project was ripe for execution, William Pepperel, of Piscataway, Esq; was, by unanimous consent, appointed to conduct it, in the quality of commander in chief of the land forces, as a gentleman of extraordinary influence, courage, and integrity.

THE inhabitants of the several colonies of New England, consisting of those of the Massachusetts bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode island, so chearfully concurred in seasonably expediting the prosecution of the enterprize, that an army of 3,850 voluntary soldiers, principally substantial persons, and men of beneficial occupations, were assembled at Boston; with eighty-five transports, and eight privateers of twenty guns and 100 men each, besides ten snows, brigantines, and sloops, of force, for their convoy, to Canso, in Nova Scotia; where they were to wait the arrival of Commodore Warren. This
brave,

PART VI. brave, determined, though undisciplined, band of soldiers, embarked from Boston, on the 20th of March, for Canso; and, "pray for us, 1745. "while we fight for you," was the valiant and endearing language, wherewith they animated their desponding countrymen, on their departure from their families, their fortunes, and their occupations.

THE whole fleet arrived at Canso, on the 2d of April, after a turbulent passage, and a course of 167 leagues, with the loss of only one foldier, and three seamen: where they waited, till the 25th of April, for the arrival of Commodore Warren, who then appeared with the *Superb* of sixty guns, and the *Launceston*, and *Eltham*, of forty guns each; but the commodore was immediately joined by the *Mermaid* of forty guns, and was to be reinforced by several other men of war, ordered, by the British government, on the same expedition.

THOUGH the fleet and army continued upwards of three weeks at Canso, within twenty leagues of *Louisburg*, and within sight of their island; yet the French were entirely ignorant of the proximity of such an armament, till early in the morning of the 30th of April, when the men of war, privateers, and transports, arrived safe in *Gabarón* bay, the place appointed for a descent, within four miles of the rampart of *Louisburg*: so that the French had no time to get in provision, or force, from the neighbouring country, to their assistance. The debarkation of the troops was instantly put in execution; though no sooner were the whale boats got out for their landing, but Capt. *Morepang* came down from the city, with a detachment of 100 men, to prevent the attempt: however the

the privateers, lying at anchor near the shore, CHAP. I.
fired smartly at the French; while 200 of the
forces landed, and defeated the detachment, with
the loss of six men killed, five taken prisoners, 1745.
and the rest totally dispersed among the woods,
and prevented from returning to the city; though
the English did not lose so much as a single
man. The land forces were now to march directly
up to the rampart of the city, through a boggy
country, full of rocks, hills, and thickets, to
enclose the town; while Commodore Warren,
with the men of war and cruisers, posted himself
off the harbour of Louisburg, so as to intercept
all reinforcements, and supplies, by sea.

THE port of Louisburg, or English harbour,
is but a league distant, by sea, from the bay of
Gabaron, and one of the best in all America;
being about four leagues in circumference, and
having, in every part of it, six or seven fathom
water: the anchorage is good, and ships may
run ashore, on the sands, without danger: the
entrance is not above 400 yards broad, between
two small isles; and is known, twelve leagues
off at sea, by the Cape of Larembec, which
lies a little to the N. E. In the N. E. part of
the harbour was a fine careening wharf for men
of war to heave down, and very safe from all
winds: on the opposite side were the fishing
stages, with room for 2,000 boats to make their
fish: and, on the starboard side of the harbour,
going in, was a light-house, on a high rocky
point, which might be distinguished, in a clear
night, five leagues off at sea. The city was
built on a point towards the sea, on the south
side of the harbour; and was improved with
fortifications that cost upwards of two millions of
livres in building: the streets are regular and
broad;

PART

VI.

1745.

broad; principally composed of stone houses; with a spacious citadel, on the western part of the town, near the ramparts erected for the security of the land side: at a small distance from the citadel, is a large parade which forms a handsome square, about 200 feet in length, and the same in breadth; on the north side of the square was the church, and the apartments belonging to the governor; the other three sides of the square were taken up with barracks, bomb-proof, and where the French put their women and children, during the siege: the greatest extent of the city is from the citadel to the eastern gate, called the Duke de Penthièvre, which is more than half a mile; and to walk round all the ramparts, mounted with heavy cannon, was at least two miles and a quarter. The road from the town to the country, is by the western gate, over a draw-bridge, where was a circular battery of sixteen guns, twenty-four pounders, seated on, and commanding the upper part of the harbour: between this and the eastern gate, was the iron battery, mounting thirty guns: opposite to this was the grand battery of thirty-five forty-two pounders, which commanded both the entry, and all the bay: and at the mouth of the harbour was the island battery, of thirty-four forty-two pounders: the walls, ramparts, and bastions, of the city, had 148 embrasures, though only sixty-four cannon mounted; but there were ten mortars of thirteen inches bore, and six of nine inches; and the garrison consisted of 1,200 regular soldiers, under the command of Monsieur Chambon: but the fortifications on the land side were not entirely finished, at the time of the siege; there being no outworks, glacis, or covert way: besides, though the bastions and curtains

tains were of masonry to the summit, which was thirty-six feet above the field, yet these, and the quoins and embrasures, were cemented with such indifferent mortar, that they were incapable to resist the fury of a strong and continual battery.

CHAP.

I.

1746.

THE British forces, immediately on their landing, proceeded towards the city; and formed two separate camps, about two miles distant from each other: the one on the southern part of the harbour, to make their approaches towards the city; and the other on the northern part of the harbour, to attack the grand battery. The British scouts, on the 1st of May, reconnoitred the country adjacent to the grand battery; and, the same night, set fire to the storehouses, which were full of combustible matter, and burned and flashed in so horrid a manner, that the French imagined all the British army was entering the fort, and retired, in the greatest confusion, into the city; abandoning this important battery to the besiegers, who took possession of it, in the morning, with only thirteen of their men: but the French, too late sensible of their imprudence, vainly attempted to recover possession of a fort, which they knew must greatly contribute to the success of the besiegers.

SEVERAL companies of the British forces entered the grand battery, where they found the guns plugged, and their carriages destroyed, by the French, before they abandoned the fort; which the besiegers began to drill: though the French fired shot and bombs from the island battery, and all the other batteries in the city, against the grand battery, incessantly day and night; but with immaterial success. The besiegers, on the 3d of May, had drilled one of the guns in the grand battery, when they fired

PART into the city; and the first shot, being unexpected, killed fourteen of the French: this reciprocal firing continued till the 9th, with no perceptible advantage on either side; but the

VI. 1745. besiegers having then twenty guns drilled, and their carriages repaired, fired smartly against the city and island battery; beating down the roofs of several houses, chimnies, and the embrasures of the batteries.

WHILE this part of the British forces had succeeded in their attempt on the grand battery; the other part of the army, encamped on the southern side of the harbour, drew a large train of artillery to an eminence, called the Green-hill, about three quarters of a mile from the city, which was briskly cannonaded from the hill. This part of the army made such vigorous approaches to the city, that, on the 12th of May, they had also erected a fascine battery, of twenty-eight guns, within 200 yards of the walls; from whence the besiegers did great execution, having broke down the wall of the circular battery, and the embrasures. As the principal effort, for the reduction of the city, was to be made from the fascine battery; this occasioned General Pepperell to order several guns, of forty-two pounders, to be dragged, from the grand, to the fascine battery, notwithstanding it was two miles distant: such was the courage, the eagerness, the activity, and unfainting strength of the besiegers, that they readily and chearfully executed every part of their laborious duty: they despised the thoughts of fatigue; their toil was glory, their danger virtue: inspired with these animating sentiments, they were supported under their constant labour, in drawing stores, carrying cannon over hills and vallies, over rocks, and

and through morasses, up to the middle in mire; in digging trenches, raising of batteries, firing shot and bombs incessantly, both day and night, against the city; and this with such surprizing success, especially from men inexpert in military affairs, as to do continual execution among the French; dismounting their cannon, beating down their houses, walls, and flankers; annoying them beyond all expectation.

WHILE the land forces were so successfully employed, on both sides of the harbour, on shore; Commodore Warren was equally vigilant, and fortunate, by water; where he so securely blocked up the mouth of the harbour, that, during the whole continuance of the siege, only one vessel got in to the relief of the city, and that with the utmost difficulty. The commodore took care to have convoyed, with the greatest security, seven transports, from Boston, with military stores, and six months provision, for the land forces; which arrived, on the 17th of May, in Gabaron bay. The commodore was now joined by the Canterbury, and Sunderland, of sixty guns, and the Chester of fifty guns; which were so properly stationed, that, on the 20th of May, two French ships, and a snow, were taken, and sent into Gabaron bay; while the commodore, with the Mermald, commanded by Capt. Douglas, and the Shirley galley, commanded by Capt. Rowse, went out in chase of a large ship; which, after the loss of sixty French and five English, was taken, on the 21st, and proved to be the Vigilante, a new French man of war, of sixty-four guns, and 560 men, commanded by the Marquis du Mailfontort, laden with stores, a great number of heavy cannon, and 1,000 half barrels of gun-powder;

PART besides stores for the city of Louisburg, and

VI. other stores for a seventy gun ship building at
 Canada; the whole cargoe valued at 60,000*l*.
 1745. the commodore also took, on the same day, a

large Brigantine, from France, laden with brandy and stores; by which happy acquisitions the French were deprived of all their expected succour by sea, the city kept in the utmost necessity, and the garrison compelled to a speedy surrender; which, had it happened otherwise, the French, by the accession of so many men, and the arrival of such supplies, would have been enabled to have protracted the siege, and occasioned a deeper scene of blood, havoc, and destruction.

THE salicine battery continued to fire smartly against the city-wall; and, on the 25th of May, did much damage to the citadel: though the city, in return, fired both their artillery and their small arms against the battery; but to little or no effect. In the mean time the besiegers, posted at the grand battery, were equally intent of procuring success; and, to facilitate the happy termination of the enterprize, it was agreed to attack the island battery, which prevented the men of war from entering the harbour, and also incommoded the forces at the grand battery: accordingly, on the 23d of May, a great number of men were busily employed in furnishing about fifty whale-boats, with paddles, ladders, and other conveniencies, for their attempt; and, about twelve o'clock, 500 men, of the land forces and marines, embarked from on-board the men of war, with a view of reducing the fortress: but, at that time, there arose such a prodigious fog, that they could not see where to land, notwithstanding they were in the view of the shore; and, when it began to clear up,

up, they were obliged to draw off; though then CHAP.
there were only fourteen men in the island bat- I.
tery. This obliged the French to a more cau- 1745.
tionary defence, by garrisoning the battery with
360 men: the besiegers were so far from being
intimidated, that, on the 27th of May, they
renewed their attempt, with 320 men; who em-
barked about two o'clock in the morning, and
endeavoured to scale the walls of the fort: but
the French discovered them; and, as soon as
the boats came near to the shore, fired their
large cannon with cartridge shot, and destroyed
several of the boats, as well as the men: not-
withstanding those, that actually landed, fought
till sun-rise, and then called for quarter: having
thirty-six men killed, and 118 taken prisoners,
in this daring attempt. Though defeated in
their design, the besiegers collected fresh courage
from disappointment; for, on the 1st of June,
they erected a new battery at the light-house,
and hoisted up some of the heaviest cannon, and
mortars, on the cliff, which overlooked and
commanded the island battery: this was done
with such surprizing strength, agility, and dis-
patch, that the French were prodigiously amaz-
ed to find so laborious a work executed in one
night: a work that promised a successful event
to the besiegers; because one flanker of the bat-
tery fronted the sea, and the other was directly
opposite to the island battery: so that the be-
siegers could sweep the platform of the island
battery, and command all the shipping that went
in, or came out, of the harbour.

THE besiegers were now beginning to slacken
their fire, not having a sufficient quantity of
powder for any more than four rounds at the
grand battery; but this misfortune was oppor-

tunely

PART tunely removed, by the arrival of some vessels
 VI. from Boston, with 600 barrels of powder, and
 stores for the army: these vessels brought intelli-
 1745. gence that 1,000 men were voluntarily raised;

in New England, to reinforce the troops: advice was also brought that the French fleet of men of war, destined for the relief of Cape Breton, were detained at Brest by the British squadron: this diffused a general joy through the army, animating the men with new life, additional spirits, and indefatigable strength; which was augmented by the capture of a French ship of fourteen carriage guns, and above 300 iron, laden with stores and provisions for the city; and was the more to be regretted by the French, as they subsisted entirely on salt-fish, bread, and pease: besides, the besiegers had information, from two deserters, that there was not above 100 barrels of powder left in the city, for all the batteries; and, to this, the governor had the mortification to hear of the capture of three other vessels, laden with stores, and provisions, for the garrison.

By the extraordinary dispatch of the orders, for naval assistance, from the British government, the commodore, on the 11th of June, was also reinforced by the Princess Mary of sixty guns, with the Hector, and the Lark of forty guns: so that the whole fleet consisted of four ships of sixty guns, one of fifty guns, and five of forty guns; besides the French man of war, several privateers, and other vessels of force. The French prisoners taken in the Vigilante, and some others who were made captives by land, being upwards of 1,000 men, were sent to Boston: after which the besiegers redoubled their fire, against the city, and the island

island battery; and also erected another fascine battery, of five guns of forty-two pounders, about a mile to the westward of the grand battery, directly fronting the circular battery of the city: from all which they made such a continual fire, that the French, on the 14th of June, were greatly distressed in the island battery by the bombs and shot, which made great execution, from the light-house battery; and every thing was preparing for a general assault, both by land and water when, on the 15th, a flag of truce came from the city, at four o'clock in the afternoon, to the British camps, with offers from the governor to deliver up the city: upon which General Pepperell, and Commodore Warren, directed the flag of truce to attend, at eight o'clock the next morning, for their resolution on so important an affair; and all the batteries were commanded to cease firing, till further orders. The flag of truce attended at the time appointed, and carried back the terms of capitulation proposed by Commodore Warren, and General Pepperell; which were agreed to by Monsieur Chambon, the governor of Louisbourg; whereby the French were permitted to enjoy all their personal effects, and to be transported to France at the expence of the besiegers; the capitulation consisting of the following articles.

1st " THAT, if the French vessels should be
" found insufficient for the transportation of their
" persons and effects to France, the besiegers
" would provide such a farther number of vessels,
" as might be sufficient for that purpose:
" also any provisions necessary for the voyage;
" that the French could not furnish themselves
" with.

PART

VI.

1745

2d " THAT all the commission officers, belonging to the garrison, and the inhabitants of the town, might remain in their houses with their families, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion; and no person should be suffered to misuse or molest any of them, till such time as they could conveniently be transported to France.

3d " THAT the non-commission officers, and soldiers, should, immediately upon the surrender of the town and fortrefs, be put on board some of the British ships, till they could also be transported to France.

4th " THAT all the sick and wounded, of the French, should be taken tender care of.

5th " THAT the commander in chief, then in the garrison, should have liberty to send off two covered waggons, to be inspected only by one British officer, that no warlike stores might be contained therein.

6th " THAT if there were any persons in the town or garrison, which the governor should desire not to be seen, they should be permitted to go off masked.

" THE British officers declared that the above was consented to, and promised by them, on the compliance of the governor, with the following conditions:

1st " THAT the surrender, and due performance of every part of the premises, should be made, and completed, as soon as possible.

2d " THAT, as a security for the punctual performance of the same, the island battery, or one of the batteries of the town, should be delivered, with all the military and warlike stores thereunto belonging, into the possession of

" the

“ the troops of his Britannic majesty, before
“ six o'clock the same afternoon. CHAP. IV

3d “ THAT the British ships of war, then
“ lying before the port, should be at liberty to
“ enter the harbour of Louisburg, without any
“ molestation, as soon after six o'clock, as Com-
“ modore Warren should think fit. 1745.

4th “ THAT none of the officers, soldiers,
“ nor inhabitants, in Louisburg, subjects of the
“ French king, should take up arms against his
“ Britannic majesty, nor any of his allies, until
“ after the expiration of a year.

5th “ THAT all the subjects of his Brittan-
“ nic majesty, taken prisoners, should be im-
“ mediately delivered up to the besiegers.

“ It having been desired, by the governor
“ of Louisburg, that his troops might march
“ out of the garrison with their arms and colours,
“ and to be then delivered into the custody of
“ Commodore Warren, and Mr Pepperell, till
“ the arrival of the said troops in France, and
“ to be then returned to them; the same was
“ also consented to.”

THE French flag was struck, on the 17th, and
the British flag hoisted up, in its place, at the
island battery; of which the besiegers took pos-
session early in the morning. At two o'clock in
the afternoon, Commodore Warren, with all
the men of war, privateers, storeships, and trans-
ports, made a fine appearance, on their entrance
into Louisburg harbour; and, when all were
safely moored, they proceeded to fire, on such a
victorious and joyful occasion. About four o'clock,
in the afternoon, the British forces marched to
the south gate of the city, which they entered,
and proceeded to the parade, near the citadel;
the French troops were all drawn up in regular
order;

PART order; and the British forces received the usual

VI. salutes, every part being performed with all the decency and decorum imaginable: after which

1745: the guard and watch of the city, garrisons, and other places, were delivered to the British troops; and, on the 4th of July, the garrison, and a great number of the inhabitants, embarked on board fourteen cartel ships, convoyed by the Launceston man of war, who conducted them to Rochfort; where the clemency of the British commanders, at Cape Breton, was ill requited, by Commodore M^c. Nemarra, the commander of the French Squadron in that port, who treated the British captain and sailors with an unexpected severity, denying them the liberty of going on shore to purchase fresh provisions, and ordering the centinels to shoot every Englishman who attempted to land: though this inhumanity was not so much the effect of a resentment for the loss of so important a place, as for the detention of Marshal Belleisle, at that time a prisoner in England; for the French declared, that the cartel of Francfort had been violated, in prejudice of this nobleman; and till he was admitted to the benefit of that treaty, they disregarded every stipulation of the same nature; of which their behaviour after the battle of Fontenoy was but too recent an instance, still bleeding fresh in the memory of the British subjects.

In this manner, after a continual siege of forty-seven days, the British forces caused the reduction of the city of Louisburg, and the subjection of the whole island of Cape Breton to his Britannic majesty. Few histories can furnish Instances of a braver, more resolute, and well-conducted attempt: let it be recorded, to the immortal reputation of this brave band of raw and

and undisciplined soldiers, that a French officer CHAP. I.
of distinction reported, he thought it imprac-
ticable for less than 30,000 men, to subdue
such a strong, and well fortified, city: and let 1745.
posterity be informed, that no less a soldier, no
less a politician than Marshal Belleisle, was heard
to say, that the whole plan was too well con-
certed, too secretly conducted, and too vigor-
ously executed, to be the product of the British
ministry; who, had they been the projectors of
so noble an enterprize, would have found it early
known, cautiously guarded against, and even
defeated by the ministry of France. The be-
siegiers, from the investiture to the surrender of
the city, fired 9,000 shot, and 600 bombs;
which occasioned the destruction of the principal
part of the city, the demolition of the citadel
and hospital, and the death of 240 of the gar-
rison: though the besiegers, in all their close and
constant assaults and skirmishes, had not above
twenty slain at the batteries, nor above 100 in
all: it was also surprizing, that, in such a climate
and season, and under such excessive fatigues,
the besiegers did not lose above 100 men by
sickness; though the camp dysentery was common
in the army: and also of so many vessels trans-
porting, and cruizing, in the stormy months of
March, and April, that only one of 100 men,
should be lost, seems almost miraculous; espe-
cially as, during all the siege, there was an un-
interrupted series of fair weather, till the sur-
render of the city, when all the rigour of the
season was felt in the utmost severity of con-
tinual storms, and excessive rains, for ten days
together.

It was a glorious acquisition; but the terms
of the capitulation seemed to disregard the poor
soldiers

PART soldiers in the British army, who left their families, and their respective occupations, for no

VI. other consideration than fourteen shillings a

1745. month, besides the hopes of punishing the French, and the prospect of a little plunder; for they were disappointed in their lucrative expectations: however the surrender ought to have been readily embraced, because there was a formidable body of French and Indians arrived on the island, and marching towards the city to molest the besiegers. By this important conquest, the French had not one sea-port left for the relief of their trading ships, either to or from the East or West Indies, open to them, any where in North America, to the northward of the river of Mississippi; for Quebec is not to be looked upon as an open port to the sea. If Cape Breton had still subsisted the same flourishing colony belonging to the crown of France, and the French had taken Annapolis, the consequence then would have been, that all the inhabitants of Nova Scotia would have declared for the French immediately, and the colony, at once, been established for France: besides, the French Indians would have ravaged the frontiers of New England, while their men of war, and privateers, would have destroyed the sea-ports, and kept the British colonies in continual alarms; all which, with the free restoration of the Newfoundland fishery, from the encroachments of a dangerous rival, was entirely prevented, by the acquisition of this valuable island, whose resignation was one of the chief disgraces in the annals of Queen Anne; but was now one of the distinguished glories of the reign of King George II. in recovering it to the British empire, where it was universally wished to remain, for

for ever, inseparably united: because it would immediately destroy the French fishery, and, in time, demolish their fur-trade; a consideration, in some respects, of equal importance to the fishery: then France would droop her ambitious purposes, conscious that the vulture war, her favourite attendant, must at last feed upon her own bowels.

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THIS memorable exertion of the British arms diffused a general happiness through the American colonies; and was celebrated, with every public demonstration of triumphal joy, over every part of the British nation. This seemed a compensation for the loss at Fontenoy: the whole nation was fully sensible of the advantages of such a conquest; and every one was emulous to do justice to the courage, and conduct, of their countrymen of New England; who appeared, like herbs and trees, increasing in beauty and vigour, by being transplanted, and almost shaming the soil of their ancestors, by their stately growth; the coolness and bravery with which they marched to action, and their return from victory to their several occupations, presenting the great image of the ancient Romans leaving the plow for the field of battle, and, after their conquests, retiring again to their scenes of agriculture. Congratulations, from every quarter, were sent to his Britannic majesty, on so joyful an occasion: the government engaged to reimburse the expences of the expedition: his majesty granted to General Pepperell, the dignity of a baronet; and Commodore Warren was immediately appointed rear-admiral of the blue; in recompence for their eminent services: but the government of the island was soon after bestowed on Commodore Knowles, who succeeded to the command

PART command of the ships on that station: a large
VI. train of artillery, and several engineers, were
 sent from Woolwich, for the better security of
 the island: two American regiments were raised,
 and put in garrison at Louisburg; the one com-
 manded by Governor Shirley, and the other by
 Sir William Pepperell; and these were after-
 wards reinforced by the regiment commanded
 by General Fuller, and the regiment commanded
 by Colonel Warburton, who were ordered from
 Gibraltar, and set sail, on the 28th of October,
 for Louisburg, under convoy of the Dover
 man of war: several families were transported
 from England to inhabit the country; which
 the French were never able to re-conquer, and
 had never regained it, but as the price, and con-
 dition, of a peace, to stop their victorious pro-
 gress on the continent: though the British parli-
 ament, before the restoration of this valuable
 acquist, to the French, thought proper to reim-
 burse the money which the provinces of New
 England had expended, in the reduction of the
 island: and accordingly, in the session at the
 close of the year 1747, the house of commons
 voted the sum of 183,649*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* to be repaid
 the Massachusets colony; 16,355*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to
 the colony of New Hampshire; 28,863*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.*
 to the colony of Connecticut; 6,332*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.*
 to the colony of Rhode Island; and 547*l.* 15*s.*
 to Capt. Gibson, a volunteer in the expedition:
 in all 235,749*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.*



CHAPTER II.

The naval war in the WEST INDIES: the arrival of Vice-Admiral DAVERS at JAMAICA; and of Chevalier de CAYLUS at MARTINICO, and LEOGANE: the ineffectual attack of the FRENCH at ANGUILLA: the arrival of Vice-Admiral TOWNSEND in the LEEWARD ISLANDS; his interception, capture, and destruction, of thirty sail of FRENCH merchantmen, under the convoy of Commodore M^c. NEMARRA: the valuable acquisition, made by Capt. TALBOT, of two FRENCH ships, richly laden from the SOUTH SEA. The naval war in EUROPE: the arrival of Rear-Admiral MEDLEY in the MEDITERRANEAN, to reinforce Vice-Admiral ROWLEY: the block-
ing

The Conduct of the Powers of Europe,
ing up of the SPANISH Squadron,
in the harbour of CARTHAGENA:
the bombardment of the coasts of
GENOA, and CORSICA, by Com-
modore COOPER: and the num-
ber of prizes, taken in EUROPE
and AMERICA.

WHILE the French were dispossessed of their most valuable settlement in the northern parts of America, they not only gave the greatest security to their colonies in the Leeward Islands, but also endangered those belonging to the British empire. Too truly sensible of the interruption of the commerce to their sugar colonies, the French were desirous of protecting their possessions from the approaches of the British squadron, now reinforced by the arrival of Vice-Admiral Davers, on the 11th of January, at Jamaica; and, accordingly, the Chevalier de Caylus, a French officer of reputation, was ordered to the West Indies, with a strong squadron, consisting of the *Esperance* of seventy-four guns, the *Northumberland* of seventy, the *Trident*, and *Sereux*, of sixty-four, the *Diamond* of fifty-six, and the *Aquilon* of forty-four; with two frigates of thirty guns, one fireship, and a bomb-vessel. The French squadron arrived at Martinico, on the 28th of March, where the crews were augmented by 1,200 sailors extraordinary, and 1,500 volunteers; which alarmed the inhabitants of the British sugar islands; because Commodore Knowles, on the departure of Com-
modore

modore Warren for Cape Breton, was incapable CHAP.
of opposing the Chevelier de Caylus : but this II.
commander, instead of making any attempt on
Antigua, or St Christophers, sailed for Leogane, 1745.
a considerable French settlement, at the west
end of the isle of Hispaniola, within twenty-four
leagues of Jamaica. This vicinity of the French
squadron occasioned an embargo on all the ship-
ping at Jamaica, where the government were
under such apprehensions of danger, that all the
militia were under arms, and the country guard-
ed with every precaution tending to security ; be-
cause Sir Chaloner Ogle was returned to England,
with the Cumberland, Montague, Ripon, Or-
ford, Assistance, and Experiment, men of war,
and sixteen sail of merchantmen ; who all ar-
rived safely at St Helens, on the 2d of June,
excepting the Orford, which was lost in the
windward passage ; though all the crew were
saved : besides the Weymouth, of sixty guns,
belonging to the squadron, arrived with Vice-
Admiral Davers, was also lost near Antigua.
However neither the French commander at His-
paniola, nor the Spaniards at the Havanna,
ever attempted to disturb the tranquility of Ja-
maica : but an intestine trouble had like to have
been attended with dangerous consequences, from
a conspiracy of 900 negroes, who had formed a
design to massacre their masters ; and had prob-
ably perpetrated their bloody purposes, only
they were timely discovered, by a negro girl,
on their refusing to save a child she had nursed :
a fresh instance to what danger these colonies
are exposed, where such a numerous introduc-
tion of these unfortunate wretches are tolerated ;
where they not only suffer a deprivation of the
liberty of human nature, but frequently find
their

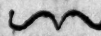
PART. their servitude imbibtered by the most cruel and

VI. inhuman severity ; a treatment that naturally

renders them desperate, and untractable : there-

1745. fore what ought not to be apprehended from the inveteracy, the obstinacy, or rather the sullen bravery, of these dejected men, *with whom revenge is virtue!*

THE French commodore imagined any enterprize against the superior British settlements, would be unsuccessful : but, as the deputy governor of Anguilla, had, in the preceding year, dispossessed the French from the island of St Martins, he detached Capt. Larouche, with two men of war, three private sloops, and two tenders, to return the hostility against the inhabitants of Anguilla. The French squadron, arrived at the island, on the 21st of May, and landed six hundred and fifty men ; which were bravely opposed, by the governor, and his inconsiderable handful of men, amounting to no more than one hundred and twelve in number. The governor, not at all intimidated at the superiority of the French, posted his little force in the most advantageous situation of a narrow pass ; where they threw up a small breast-work, and posted thirty-two of their company to defend it : the French advanced to this post ; when Governor Hodge encouraged his men, with a short and honest speech, informing them, “ That he was an utter stranger to all manner
“ of military discipline, so had nothing to re-
“ commend to them, but to load and fire as fast
“ as they could ; and stand by one another in
“ the defence of their country.” This animated his brave fellows ; they all shook hands, and solemnly bound themselves to each other, either to drive away the French, or perish in the attempt ;

tempt ; and then prepared for the engagement, CHAP.
The French met with an unexpected repulse ; II.
they could not overcome the resolution of men 
aspiring to victory, or devoted to death ; they 1745.

were slaughtered before the breast-work, and, in less than a quarter of an hour, entirely routed, with the loss of thirty-two men killed, twenty five dangerously wounded, and forty-six dispersed in the woods and left on the island, while their companions thought proper to return to Leogane : neither the governor nor his men received any damage ; but the French had a captain, and three other officers, killed on the spot ; Capt. Latouche was wounded in two places ; and his second captain, and the first lieutenant of the other ship, died of their wounds next morning on board.

As the force under Vice-Admiral Davers was insufficient for the protection of Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands ; the British government, in pursuance of an application from the merchants, ordered Vice-Admiral Townsend to proceed with a squadron from the Mediterranean, and reinforce the squadron in the West-Indies. Vice-Admiral Townsend set sail from Gibraltar, on the 2d of August, with the *Lenox*, of seventy guns, the *Dreadnought*, *Worcester*, and *Kingston*, of sixty ; the *Hampshire*, *Argyll*, and *Severn*, of fifty ; the *Gibraltar* of twenty guns ; and the *Comet* bomb : the squadron, on the 3d of October, arrived off Martinico, where the vice-admiral was joined by the *Pembroke*, of sixty guns, and the *Woolwich* of fifty ; when the whole squadron consisted of eleven ships. The island of Martinico had been long kept in the utmost necessity for provisions, and supplies : but the French had lately sent Commo-

PART VI. dore M^c. Nemarra, from Rochfort, with seven men of war, and 200 sail of ships, laden with merchandize, and provisions, under convoy.

1745. Vice-Admiral Townsland expected, and waited for the arrival of the French commodore, till the 31st of October; when, about seven in the morning, the vice-admiral discovered forty sail, being the French commodore, with four ships of his squadron, and part of his convoy, coming round the south end of Martinico, close under the shore, which the British squadron stemmed with, and soon drew near enough to make them; when five or six appeared to be pretty large ships; whereupon the vice-admiral formed the line of battle: but, finding the French commodore endeavour to avoid him, the vice-admiral hauled down the signal for the line, ordered a general chase, and pursued the French with all possible expedition; which succeeded so well, that several of the French ships were driven to leeward, and taken up by some of the British squadron. Vice-Admiral Townsland continued to pursue the men of war, and one of them, called the Ruby, of sixty guns, carrying away her top-mast, the Lenox got near enough to exchange some broadsides, and forced her on shore, into a sandy bay, under a fortification on the south side of the island. The commodore, in the Magnanimous, of eighty guns, with great difficulty, got under the protection of Fort Royal, and a battery of forty guns on the opposite shore; but, being in great hurry and confusion, ran aground, where he lay forty eight hours, and received considerable damage. Vice-Admiral Townsland spent the remainder of this, and all the three following days, in cutting out, burning, and destroying the merchant ships; of which fifteen were taken, three burnt, and some bulged

bulged upon the rocks the first day of the pursuit; though the French had above thirty sail either taken, sunk, burnt, or destroyed: which was a severe stroke on their West-India trade; and in particular aggravated the distress of the inhabitants of Martinico, who were already in a deplorable condition.

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VICE-ADMIRAL TOWNSEND afterwards put into Prince Rupert's bay, in the island of Dominica, about nine leagues north of Martinico, and forty seven N. W. of Barbadoes; from whence he repaired to Antigua, and continued on that station, till the 9th of November; when he proceeded to lie off St Piers in Martinico: by which disposition the island was precluded from receiving any supplies, and a privateer of twenty guns and 200 men, commanded by Capt. Ballanki, who had done the greatest mischief of any privateer in America, fell into the hands of the British squadron: the vice-admiral also took five Dutch ships bound to Martinico, with provisions, from St Eustatia; and so closely invested the island, that the scarcity of provisions occasioned the deaths of several thousands of negroes, and common people, of Martinico.

THESE were all the material transactions of this year, in America; exclusive of all the valuable captures made by several of the British men of war, and privateers. In January, the Flamborough man of war, of twenty guns, took a French ship of 320 ton, twenty-four guns, and 120 men, from the Havanna for Cadiz, with 60,000 pieces of eight, some chests of gold dust, and other rich merchandize; and, after an obstinate engagement, in which the French had forty-two men killed, carried the prize into South Carolina. The Flamborough also took a Spanish register ship worth 50,000*l*.

THE *Rose* man of war, of twenty guns, commanded by Capt. Frankland, being cruising on the Carolina station, on the 12th of January, fell in with the *Conception*, a French ship of 400 ton, twenty guns, and 326 men, from Carthage for the Havanna; and, after a smart engagement of eleven glasses, in which the *Conception* had 110 men killed, the *Rose*, with the loss of five men, took the prize into Charles Town in South Carolina; where she proved a very valuable acquisition, her cargo consisting of 800 serons of cocoa, in each of which was deposited a bar of gold; sixty-eight chests of silver coin, containing 310,000 pieces of eight; wrought plate of equivalent value; a complete set of church plate; a large quantity of gold buckles, and snuff boxes; a curious two-wheeled chaise of silver, the wheels, axletree, and other parts, of the same metal; a large quantity of pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones; and above 600lb weight of gold: the whole worth 200,000*l*.

SOME merchants of London, had fitted out three privateers, intended for a joint cruize, under the command of Capt. Talbot, who was to act as the commodore, with the *Prince Frederic*, of twenty-eight guns, and 244 men; the *Duke*, Capt. Morecock, of twenty guns, and 150 men; and the *Prince George*, of twenty guns, and 134 men. The squadron set sail, from Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, on the 2d of June; but, on the 7th, the *Prince George* unfortunately overset, and sunk; and though the commodore immediately went to her assistance, he could save no more than twenty men out of the 134. However, not discouraged with so unfavourable a beginning, the *Prince Frederic* and *Duke* continued their course off the coast of Portugal;

tugal; but, meeting with no remarkable success, they steered for the Azores, or western islands, situate between 25 and 33 degrees of west longitude, and between 36 and 40 degrees of north latitude; being nine in number, and subject to the crown of Portugal. The two privateers, on the 20th of June, made the Isle of St Mary, the southermost of the Azores; when they stood away to the westward, to cruize between these islands, and the great bank of Newfoundland. Their cruize was unsuccessful, till the 10th of July; and then, between five and six in the morning, they discovered three sail, bearing west; which happened to be the Marquis d'Antin, of 450 ton, twenty-four guns, and sixty-eight men, commanded by Capt. Magon Serpere; the Lewis Erasmus of 500 ton, twenty-eight guns, and sixty-six men, commanded by Capt. Pedro Lavigne Luenell; and the Notre Dame de Deliverance, of 300 ton, twenty-two guns, and sixty men, commanded by Capt. Pedro Litant; all three of them belonging to St Maloes, and having been out four years in the South Seas, on the coasts of Chili and Peru, and now on their return, immensely rich, from Lima in Peru. The two privateers bore down on the French, who made little account of them, and kept their wind: but, a quarter past seven, Capt. Talbot fired a gun at them, when the French hoisted their colours, and formed a line: the Duke, being somewhat too hasty, went to windward, and immediately began to fire away; while Capt. Talbot bore to leeward, and advanced within pistol shot of the nearest ship to him, which was the Marquis d'Antin; where they entertained each other exceeding smartly, for three hours, before the French submitted. During the time that the Prince Frederic was engaging the

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Marquis d' Antin, the Lewis Erasmus got on his bow, and put Capt. Talbot between two fires; who, as soon as the first ship had struck, lost no time, but went and returned the visit to the Lewis Erasmus; at the same time that the Notre Dame de Deliverance crouded away from the Duke, who had orders to chace her, while Capt. Talbot attacked the Lewis Erasmus; where he found such warm work, that it was three hours before she would strike: though the captain of the Duke, seeing night coming on, and apprehending that Capt. Talbot would be puzzled to take care of the disabled ships, quitted the chace, and let the third make her escape. Capt. Talbot all along conceived that his adversaries were Martinico ships; but was agreeably surprized to understand they were richly laden with the treasures of Peru and Chili; a treasure that might well repay him, and his sailors for their trouble: though the Prince Frederic had one lieutenant, and five men killed, and twenty-five wounded; the Duke had seven men killed, and eight wounded: the Lewis Erasmus had only the captain, and one man killed, and four wounded; and the Marquis d' Antin had no more than the captain, and six men killed, and eight wounded; but this was owing to the English Captain firing more at their rigging, than between the decks, for fear of sinking them. The prizes lost all their masts, and were obliged to be towed, by the Prince Frederic and Duke, to Kinsale in Ireland; where they happily arrived, on the 30th of July: when Capt. Talbot found, that the prizes had a treasure of 2,665,315 dollars in specie; pistoles, and doubloons, to the value of 300,693 dollars; gold bars, to the value of 32,000 dollars; and wrought

wrought plate to the value of 11,000 dollars; CHAP.
amounting, in all, to 3,009,008 dollars, being II.
677,026*l.* besides 800 ton of cocoa, and other
valuable effects: which were convoyed by three 1745.
men of war to Bristol; and conducted, in forty-five waggons, to the Tower of London; the whole weight of treasure, including the package, amounting to seventy-eight ton, thirteen hundred, one quarter, and sixteen pounds; the proprietors having 700,000*l.* to their share, and every common seaman being intitled to 850*l.* for his dividend.

THE *Notre Dame de Deliverance*, that escaped from the Duke privateer, made the best of her way to Cape Breton; imagining the French had still possession of the island: where she was taken, on the 20th of July, by the *Sutherland* and *Chester* men of war, and carried into *Louisburg*; when she appeared as valuable a prize as either of her consorts; her cargo consisting of eighteen serons of gold, weighing 1170lb averdupoize; 15,399 double doubloons; 162 gold snuff boxes, weighing 952 ounces; 1,072,000 pieces of eight; 764 ounces of virgin silver; thirty-one pounds of silver ore; several diamond rings, and solitaires; 876 serons of cocoa; 203 serons of *Jesuits bark*; 191 tanned hides; 181 dozen of fans; and thirty-six bales of *Carmenian wool*: the whole amounting to upwards of 460,000*l.* which was safely conducted to *Portsmouth*, under convoy of four men of war.

THE reduction of *Cape Breton* was no less fatal to several other ships, than it was to the *Notre Dame de Deliverance*: for, in August, the *La Charmante*, a French East India ship, of 600 ton, twenty-eight guns, and ninety-nine men, was taken by the *Princess Mary*, and

PART VI. Canterbury men of war, and carried into Louis-
bourg; with a cargo worth upwards of 200,000*l*.

1745. About the same time, the Chester, and Mer-
maid, men of war, brought into Louisbourg;
the Heton, another ship belonging to the
French East India company; with a cargo
worth 140,000*l*. The French had also a man
of war of twenty-four guns, and another of
twenty guns, taken and carried into Antigua;
and the British cruizers, and privateers, made
several other considerable captures, both from the
French and Spaniards.

THE French, on the 12th of August, took the
Falcon sloop of war, and carried her into Martin-
ico: but the most considerable prizes, taken either
by the French or Spaniards, in America, were no
ways of an equality with the valuable captures
made by the British cruizers, and privateers: for
the French took only the Falcon, one British
privateer, and sixty-six mercantile vessels, in
America; and the Spaniards took one privateer,
and fifty-eight merchant vessels: so that the whole
number of the British ships, that, this year, fell
into the hands of the French and Spaniards, in
America, was one sloop of war, two privateers,
and 123 merchant vessels: but the British cruizers,
and privateers, in America, took five French,
and two Spanish, men of war; nine French, and
five Spanish, privateers; ninety-three French,
and forty-seven Spanish, merchant ships: in all,
seven men of war, fourteen privateers, and 140
merchant vessels.

THE naval war in Europe was successfully
prosecuted, on all sides, by the cruizers and pri-
vateers; but the respective squadrons never came
to any general engagement. However the Bri-
tish government took care to station a squadron
at Plymouth, under the command of Vice-Ad-
miral

miral Martin, who diligently attended the motions of the French fleet at Brest, and made several successful cruizes in the channel; while Rear-Admiral Medley was ordered from Spithead, with a squadron of seven men of war, consisting of the Ipswich of seventy guns; the Jersey, of sixty; the Harwich, and the Winchester, of fifty; and the Gosport, Ludlow-Castle, and Maidstone, of forty; as convoy to nine sail of East-India-men, and above 100 sail of merchant-ships, as far as the Straights of Gibraltar; when the rear-admiral was to reinforce the squadron under Vice-Admiral Rowley. Rear-Admiral Medley set sail, on the 21st of February, from Spithead; but on the 27th, several of his convoy received considerable damage, by running foul of one another in Torbay, on the coast of Devonshire; after which the rear-admiral conducted the Portugal fleet to Lisbon; and then proceeded to meet Vice-Admiral Rowley at Minorca; where he joined him, on the 10th of April.

VICE-ADMIRAL ROWLEY had posted his cruisers in such convenient stations, as proved extremely detrimental both to the French and Spaniards; but when he received his expected reinforcement, he proceeded, with Rear-Admiral Medley, and twenty-four ships of the line, to block up the Spanish squadron in the port of Catthagena; where the Spaniards had the Royal Philip, and the Isabella refitted, with five ships of sixty-four guns, two of sixty, five of fifty-four, and one of fifty, clean, full-manned, and ready to put to sea, in hopes of convoying the transports to Italy, and in expectation of effecting a junction with the Brest squadron: but all their schemes were frustrated by the vigilance of Vice-Admiral Rowley; who not only prevented the

the Spanish fleet from putting to sea, but also detached Commodore Osborne, with twelve sail of the line, to cruize off Cadiz, and interrupt the proceedings of the Brest squadron, which was really intended for a more important service than the assistance of the Spaniards; for this armament was secretly augmenting, with a design to favour the enterprize, then in agitation, for ushering the young pretender to the British throne on the public theatre, in a very formidable and illustrious character: but a part of this squadron lay cruizing between Lisbon and Gibraltar, where they took the Blandford man of war, of twenty guns, commanded by Capt. Dodd, who refused, at the peril of his life, to make any discovery of the British squadron: however they had intelligence of the situation of Commodore Osborne, and avoided him.

IMMEDIATELY on the declaration of hostilities by the Genoese, against the Queen of Hungary, Vice-Admiral Rowley sent Commodore Cooper, with a part of his fleet, to bombard the coast of Genoa: and, before the middle of September, Savona, Genoa, and Final, felt this dreadful calamity; though they escaped tolerably well, in comparison of St Remo, which was almost reduced to ashes, by the thunder of the British ships. Not satisfied with thus punishing the infidelity of the terrified Genoese, Commodore Cooper proceeded to Bastia, the capital of Corsica, where a considerable body of malecontents were in arms, under the Marquis Rivola; who acted openly for their Hungarian and Sardinian majesties, and had strongly solicited the assistance of the British admiral, to expel the Genoese from an island they had so long held in a despotical subjection: upon the arrival of

Commodore Cooper, the castle and city were CHAP.
cannonaded, and bombarded, for two hours, II.
with extraordinary fury; and though the Marquis 1745.
de Mari had a Garrison of 600 men, he was
obliged to abandon the castle, and retire to
Calvi, where he expected to be followed by the
disgusted Corsicans; who, before the close of
the Year, obliged the Genoese to surrender the
castle of St Fiorenzo, and the tower of Mortella:
so that the Genoese had no place of considera-
tion left in the whole island, except Calvi, Ajac-
cio, and Bonifacio, which were not expected to
make any vigorous resistance; especially as the
malecontents were highly animated by the ser-
vices of the British commodore, and greatly
encouraged by the promises of the king of Sar-
dinia, who published a manifesto, shewing the
reasons which induced him to take the Corsicans
under his protection, declaring, "That he
" would take care to render their situation
" happy, and never suffer them to remain ex-
" posed to the resentment of the republic of
" Genoa." These were the most material tran-
sactions that happened in the European seas, be-
tween the maritime forces of the contending
crowns; except what was executed, or intended
so to be, in favouring the bold attempt of the
young pretender, on his invasion of Scotland.

THE cruizers, and privateers, were numerous,
and active; and several obstinate engagements
happened, particularly between the English and
French: though, at the beginning of the year,
the British nation began to be alarmed at the
conduct of some of their naval commanders, in
permitting two French men of war to escape,
without coming to an engagement. For Capt.
Mostyn, who commanded the Hampton-Court,

of

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of seventy guns, being cruizing in the channel, in consort with Capt. Griffin, in the Captain, of seventy guns; Capt. Fowkes, in the Dreadnought, of sixty guns, and Capt. Brett, in the Sunderland, of fifty Guns; saw three sail, about three leagues distant, and steered after them; which happened to be the Neptune, and Fleuron, two French men of war, the former of seventy-four guns, and 700 men, and the latter of sixty guns, and 600 men, with the Dartmouth privateer, which they had lately taken. Capt. Griffin pursued, and retook the privateer; but the Sunderland had carried away her maintop-mast, and could not join in pursuing the men of war; neither could the Dreadnought keep company with the Hampton-Court; so that Capt. Mostyn was obliged to abandon the chase: such a conduct disgusted the British nation, who upbraided some of the commanders with cowardice; which occasioned the captains to desire a legal examination into their conduct; and, accordingly, a court-martial was held, on the 31st of January, on board the Lenox, in Portsmouth harbour, composed of Vice-Admiral Stewart, Rear-Admiral Medley, and fifteen captains; who, after examining the evidences, and inspecting into the log-books of the respective ships, were unanimously of opinion, that Capt. Mostyn had done his duty as an experienced and good officer, and as a man of courage and conduct: they justified the conduct of Capt. Griffin; and also declared that Capt. Fowkes, and Capt. Brett, had performed their duty in every respect: though this decision was far from satisfying the public; who conceived that the French ships must have necessarily struck to the superiority of the British captains; and

and that the matter merited a more particular, CHAP.
and stricter enquiry. II.

THE Rupert and Guernsey men of war, the former commanded by Capt. Ambrose, and the latter by Capt. Cornish, on the 24th of March, took the *Maria Fortunata*, a Spanish register ship, from Cadiz to Buenos Ayres, of 350 ton, sixteen guns, and sixty-four men, besides passengers, among whom was the Governor of Paraguay; which was a valuable prize, the cargo having cost above 100,000*l.* at Cadiz, where insurances were made on the ship to the amount of 550,000 dollars.

1745.

THE Sunderland man of war, commanded by Capt. Brett; and the Chester, of fifty guns, commanded by Capt. Geary; on the 26th of March, took the *Elephant*, a French man of war, of twenty guns, and 140 men, commanded by Monsieur Sallette, from Mississippi to Rochfort, with 24,000 pieces of eight, some indigo, hides, logwood, and tobacco; with the super-intendant of Mississippi, his wife and family, two merchants, and some land-officers, passengers; who were all brought into Plymouth.

THE Sheerness privateer, commanded by Capt. Furnell, on the 30th of March, took the *La Frigate de Affairs*, a French East-India-man homeward-bound from Mocha; laden with coffee, and 300 ton burthen; which was carried into Bristol.

CAPT. GRIFFIN, in the *Captain* man of war, being on a cruize between Portland and the Caskets, on the 24th of May, took the Grand Turk privateer, of thirty-two guns, and 240 men, belonging to St Maloes; which was afterwards admitted into the royal service, as a man

PART VI. man of war. The *Vestale*, another privateer, of eighteen guns, and 160 men, who was in company with the *Grand Turk*, was taken, at the same time, by the *Monmouth*, man of war, of seventy guns; and both the prizes carried into Plymouth. Capt. Griffin, on the 2d of June, also took the *Achilles* privateer, of St Maloes, of twenty-two guns, and 148 men, and sent her into Plymouth.

ON the 25th of May, the garrison of Ostend were alarmed, about one o'clock in the morning, by a terrible firing at sea; which was an engagement, under the cannon of the ramparts, between the *Bridgwater*, of twenty guns, commanded by Lord George Graham; the *Sheerness* of twenty Guns; and a tender; who were closely engaged with the *Real* privateer, of twenty-eight guns; the *Princess de Penthièvre*, of twenty-six; and a dogger, of eighteen; all belonging to Dunkirk; who had taken four British vessels in the northern seas, and three others in the channel, which were then under their convoy. The engagement continued above four hours, when the men of war run the two great privateers, and four of the prizes, on shore, and secured the other prizes; though the French dogger made her escape: the dispute was very sharp and bloody, the privateers fighting with the greatest resolution, and suffering themselves to be drove on shore, with the loss of eighty-four men killed, and seventy-six wounded, before the English could oblige them to strike their colours.

CAPT. BRETT, who had been lieutenant of the *Centurion*, under Commodore Anson, was lately, at the request of the commodore, promoted, from the *Sunderland*, to the command

of

of the *Lion*, of sixty guns; and being on a CHAP. cruize in the channel, on the 9th of July, tell in II. with the *Mercury*, a French man of war, of sixty-four guns, and another ship of sixteen guns; when they began a remarkably obstinate, and bloody engagement; which lasted five hours, within pistol-shot: but the *Lion* was so much disabled, in her masts and rigging, as to do nothing with her sails; which gave the French an opportunity of escaping; yet not before the *Mercury* had 160 men killed, and 140 wounded: the *Lion* had forty-seven men killed, the captain, most of his officers, and 107 men wounded; though the captain of marines behaved with the greatest pusillanimity, for which he was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and deservedly sentenced to be shot, as an example of cowardice. 1745.

IN August, as Vice-Admiral Martin was cruising in the channel, with a squadron of seven men of war, he took the *Panther*, a French man of war, of twenty Guns, and 260 men, commanded by Monsieur Keruzaret, of the order of St Lewis; with a privateer, and several other vessels.

THE *St Esprit*, a French man of war, of seventy-four guns, as she was convoying some merchant ships from Cadiz, on the 10th of August, was attacked by the *Jersey* man of war, of sixty guns, commanded by Capt. Hardy; who engaged the *St Esprit* for two hours and a half, when she bore away, with the merchant ships, to refit at Cadiz: but the *St Esprit* was so greatly disabled, that she sunk immediately after she got into port.

THE French were more successful than the Spaniards in their maritime acquisitions, having

PART fitted out a greater number of privateers, and
 VII. given more encouragement to their sailors. On
 the 22d of April, Capt. Belleisle, in the Apollo

1745. privateer, of fifty-four guns, and 500 men, as
 he was cruising on the coast of Jersey, fell in
 with, and took the Anglesea man of war, of
 forty guns, and 250 men, commanded by Capt.
 Elton; who, after an obstinate engagement,
 was killed, as also was the first lieutenant, and
 sixty of the crew either killed or wounded;
 when the second lieutenant struck the colours,
 and surrendered the ship; for which, on his
 arrival in England, he was tried by a court
 martial, and sentenced to be shot, which was
 accordingly executed; though he died with
 every sign of a brave and intrepid man. The
 Apollo was afterwards very successful, and,
 among other prizes, took the Dartmouth Galley
 privateer.

THE Elizabeth, a French man of war, of
 sixty-six guns, on the 2d of November, took the
 Bristol privateer of thirty guns, and 300 men.
 The Mercury man of war, on the 6th of the
 same month, also took the Black Prince of Li-
 verpool, of fifty guns, and 400 men, being the
 strongest privateer fitted out, since the war, by
 the British merchants. Several other of the
 French men of war, and privateers, made cap-
 tures of many British privateers, and mercantile
 vessels; but the Spaniards made no considerable
 prizes.

THE Spaniards, this year, took forty-three
 British vessels, in the European seas, and fifty-
 nine in America, in all 102; which made the
 whole number of the British vessels, taken, by
 the Spaniards, since the commencement of the
 war, amount to 888. The French had, this
 year,

year, made captures of two British men of war, CHAP. the Wolf sloop, and the Mercury snow of war, II, twenty one privateers, and 327 merchant vessels, in the European seas: which, with the captures 1745. in America, made the whole number of the French prizes, for this year, consist of two men of war, two sloops of war, one snow of war, twenty-two privateers, and 388 merchant vessels, in all 415; making the whole number of the British vessels, taken, by the French, since the declaration of hostilities, amount to 643; and those taken, in the present year, both by the French and Spaniards, to consist of 517, including the men of war and privateers. But the British cruisers, and privateers, were more successful than both the French and Spaniards together: for they took seventy-three Spanish vessels, in Europe; besides the captures in America, which made the whole loss that the Spaniards sustained, during the course of this year, consist of 122 ships; making the whole number of the Spanish ships and vessels, taken, by the English, since the commencement of the war, amount to 973. The British cruisers, and privateers, also took, this year, from the French, 297 ships and vessels in the European seas; which, added to the British captures in America, made the whole loss sustained, this year, by the French, to consist of 404 ships and vessels; making the whole number of prizes, taken, from the French, since the 24th of March 1744, amount to 750; and from both the French and Spaniards, in this year, to 526; which was nine ships more than the French and Spaniards had taken together. It is next to an impossibility to give any exact calculation of the value of the prizes taken in the year 1745; but the ballance, indisputably, lay immensely

PART great in favour of the English; who, thought
VII. they lost some ships of considerable value, had

none of the numerous ships belonging to their
 1745. East India company molested; either in going to,
 or returning from, India: whereas the British cruif-
 ers, and privateers, intercepted every branch of the
 French and Spanish commerce, stagnated their
 trade, seized their most valuable commodities,
 and conducted the opulency of their American
 colonies safe into the British ports: for among
 the prizes, taken from the Spaniards, were, two
 men of war, seventeen privateers, and thirty-
 seven register ships; and among the prizes taken
 from the French, were, nine men of war, fifty-
 eight privateers, four East India ships, three
 South Sea ships, 175 Martinico and Domingo
 ships, twenty-eight Newfoundland ships, twelve
 Guinea ships, and two Turkey ships: which made
 the French very sensibly aware of the inequality
 of their maritime strength, however vigilantly
 exerted, and though even assisted by Spain, if
 exerted against the invincible force of the naval
 power of Britain.



PART



PART VII.

THE REBELLION IN SCOTLAND:

WITH

Ample Disquisitions concerning the
Disaffection of the SCOTCH Na-
tion to the BRITISH Government;
and of the necessary Measures to
be taken, by the Legislature, for
corroborating the Union of the
Two Kingdoms, improving the
Highlands, establishing the Loy-
alty of the Highlanders, and for
suppressing all the future Hopes
of the PRETENDER.



2007



CHAPTER I.

An introductory account of the nature of the BRITISH government, from its original institution, to the HANOVER succession; wherein the right, and privileges, of the subjects are asserted, in opposition to arbitrary power, and indefeasible hereditary right, in the prince: with a recapitulation of the misconduct of the STEUARTINE family, from the accession of JAMES I. to the abdication of JAMES II. The establishment of the protestant succession; and the attempts made by the Pretender, and his adherents, to dethrone the House of HANOVER.



ENGLAND was originally a monarchy, under the primitive Britons; then a province subordinate to the Romans; after that an heptarchial government under the Saxons; next a kingdom

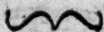
PART VII. subject to the Danes; after them to the Nor-
 mans; and now a monarchy again under the
 English, the descendants of such heterogeneous
 1745. ancestors. The inhabitants of Britain, through

all these variations of sovereignty, have constantly been the most carefully provident in reserving to themselves, since their first institution of, and submission to, regal government, all such rights, privileges, and liberties, as were necessary to render their natal country either renowned and honourable abroad, or safe, happy, and prosperous at home: for this they perpetually, with a courage and magnanimity peculiar to themselves, maintained their privileges and liberties, through a long series of ages; either re-assuring and securing them, by new and superadded laws, when there were endeavours to undermine and supplant them; or else vindicating them with a generous courage, even to the deposition, and abdication, of treacherous, usurping, and tyrannical princes, when more gentle, mild, and senatorian methods, were found weak, and ineffectual, to cover and protect their national rights, and to transmit them, pure and unfulfilled, to posterity. All, that know any thing of Britain, know, that the government of it is a mixed limited monarchy, where the supreme power is divided between the king and the community, that is, the lords and commons: since the monarch can neither raise money, nor make or annul laws, without the people; and those laws are a rule to both; a common measure to him of his power, and to them of their obedience. Though the chief executive part of the law is in the sovereign; yet a king of England was properly a political king, who originally subjected himself to the law by his coronation

tion oath, a fundamental law of the kingdom, CHAP. I.
and antecedent to the subjects homage and oath of fealty: so that the kings of England were legal kings, their authority was under a legal extent, and their royal power was restrained by a political power: none of these monarchs could do any thing as a king, but what he could legally do; which made it the very essence of English sovereigns, to govern according to law; for where the will was superior to law, there the arbitrary man was no longer a king; and, upon this account, it has been truly said, "That a king of England can do no wrong;" because the king has no prerogative that derogates from justice, and equity; and, as he receives all his power from the law, he can do nothing but what the law impowers him to do, without making an invasion upon the rights of the people, and endeavouring to accomplish the subversion of the government. Such have been the perpetual axioms, this has been the constant mode, of the English constitution, whenever the subjects asserted, and rose up in defence of, their liberties; liberties derived to them by nature, and retained by that law which subjected them within the bounds of proper and limited obedience to regal authority. The several charters of the land, by which the rights of Englishmen stood secured, sworn, and entailed, to them, and their posterity, before the Norman government, were expressive of the most ample, free, and genuine privileges: yet these were not so much the grants, or concessions, of their princes, as the recognitions of what the subjects had reserved to themselves, in the original institution of their government; and of what had always appertained to them by law, and immemorial

1745. morial customs. These privileges, and liberties, came to be more distinctly expressed, and significantly ratified, in the ever-memorable Magna Charta, which was obtained from King John, in the year 1215, by the just exertion of English liberty; when the brave barons compelled their arbitrary sovereign, notwithstanding all the fury of the papal fulminations, to confirm that glorious charter, and the charter of the forests; thereby repealing what oppressions the English had endured since the year 1066, when the gallant Harold expired nobly in the fields of Suffex, where victory incircled the brows of the triumphant Norman with the regal diadem of England, and stopped the royal line of the Saxon monarchs, which began, above 600 years before, in the person of Hengist the first king of Kent. The English barons, by these sacred charters, obtained a concession of some new privileges, and a confirmation of their antient rights, and liberties; these charters are the foundations of those liberties the British nation now enjoys; to them are owing that happy constitution, that excellent system of government, under which, at this day, the free and generous race of Britons flourish in the utmost felicity; exciting the admiration, and the envy, of surrounding nations. But though these present fundamental charters are the pillars which sustain the celestial mansion of British liberty; yet their inestimable stipulations had not only been acknowledged, and transmitted down, in the laws of Edward the Confessor, as the birth-right of every Englishman; which also the first Norman monarch not only ratified as such; but they had long before, so long as the year 974, been collected into a body by Edgar, the greatest monarch of the
the

the whole Saxon race; and were only revised, CHAP.
repeated, and confirmed, by the royal Con- I.
fessor.



1745.

AMONGST all the rights, and privileges, appertaining to the inhabitants of Britain, that of having a share in the legislature, in ordaining their own laws, and being to be governed no otherwise than in conformity to laws of their own enacting, is the most fundamental, and essential; as well as the most advantageous and beneficial: for, thereby, they are enabled to make such successive and continual provisions, as shall be found the most conducive, and expedient, to the preservation of the general society, and the promoting either the temporal or eternal welfare of the subject. All that could be expected from their ancestors, or practicable by them, either upon the first institution of civil government, or upon their after improvements, or regulations of it, was, to direct, limit, and restrain, the executive power committed to the sovereign; and to make him, or his subordinate ministers, accountable, in case they should deny, delay, or pervert justice, or be found chargeable with male-administration of the laws: never were a people more provident as to all these, than the predecessors of the British subjects: for as they have left nothing to the private discretion of a sovereign, much less to his arbitrary will, but have assigned him the laws as the rules, and measures, by which he is to govern; so they not only delegated it unto him, as a trust which he is to swear faithfully to perform, but they have always reserved a liberty, right, and power, inherent in the community, of inspecting his administration; making him responsible for it, and of abdicating him from the sovereignty,
upon

PART VI. upon universal and egregious failures in the royal trust that had been credited and consigned to his rectoral authority. Of this there is an irrefragable evidence in the articles advanced in parliament, in the year 1399, against Richard II. when he was solemnly deposed from the throne, and by an instrument, signed with his own hand, confessed himself unworthy to govern any longer; after endeavouring to prove that the regal power was unlimited; and after convening a parliament at Shrewsbury, where this deluded monarch trod the privileges of the people under foot, as so many unjust encroachments on the royal prerogative; which wrought his expulsion from the throne, and placed his misguided sceptre in the hands of his cousin Henry IV. Examples of the same kind, antecedent and posterior to the Norman conquest, are numerous: Archigallo, Emerian, Vortigern, Sigibert, Beornred, Alured, and Edwin, were all deprived of their crowns for evil government; and more worthy successors appointed, by the free election, and unanimous concurrence, of their subjects; after the conquest, Edward II. and Richard III. were deprived of the government, for acting with an extra-judicial authority, contrary to the laws of the land; the former being succeeded by his son Edward III. and the latter by Henry VII. who were preferred in their rooms: King John was unanimously opposed by his subjects, for refusing to confirm their laws, and liberties; and Henry VI. was degraded from his dignity, by authority of a council of the lords spiritual and temporal, for violating and infringing an order of parliament; and for his insufficiency to rule the kingdom; whereupon he was ejected from all regal authority, and Edward IV. admitted to supply

supply his vacancy in the royal throne. Thus by CHAP. I.
the common usage of England, which is the common law of the nation, that kings, degenerating into tyrants, may be deprived for evil government, and others appointed in their stead, is evident from these historical examples: neither are other nations less deficient in similar instances of confining their monarchs to a just observance of their legal sovereignty, nor less remarkable for their vigilance in suppressing despotic and arbitrary principles. 1745.

NOT to mention the alteration in the succession of the royal blood of France, from the race of Pharamond, to the line of Pepin, and from the descendants of Pepin to Hugh Capet, whose family are now in possession of the crown; it is sufficient, for this purpose, that Childeric III. in whom terminated the line of Pepin; Lewis III. and Charles, surnamed le Gros; were all deprived, by the states of France, for their evil government, and such who were thought more meritorious appointed in their room; and to those revolutions, made by the people, all the French historians attribute the prosperity, and magnificence, of their kingdom. In Spain, Rodoric, Alphonso, and Henry IV; and in Castile, Favila, Alphonso IV, Ordonius, Alphonso X, and Peter the Cruel, were all expelled from the regal dignity, for tyrannical and evil government: and, through the same motives, the states of Holland, in the year 1581, in a general assembly, at the Hague, abjured all obedience, and subjection, to Philip King of Spain; and, in a declaration, justified their conduct; because, "That monarch, by his tyrannical government, against faith so frequently plighted, and broken, had lost his right to
" all

PART "all the Belgic provinces; and, therefore, they

VII. "deposed him." In Portugal, Alphonfus was

1745. deposed because he was young, and his mother encroaching upon their liberties: and Don Sancho II. was deprived by the universal consent of the Portuguese, and Don Alonso, his brother, introduced to the sovereign authority. In Denmark, Christopher II. Waldemar, Eric, Christiern II. and Cisternus, were all deposed for their cruelty, and arbitrary proceedings. In Poland, Leticus II. Lescus I. Miccislaus, and Ueadislaus III. were deprived of the crown, for male-administration. In Sweden, Ingellus, Amund, Swercher, Waldimar, Birgir, Magnus, Albert, Eric, Charles, and Christiern King of Denmark, were abdicated the throne for their contemptible perversion of the laws. Nay, the very Emperors of Germany, when they infringed the rules of government, and violated the fundamental laws of the Empire, have found a general resistance, and vigorous opposition from the states; who, finally, deprived them of the imperial dignity; of which Lewis the Good, Henry IV. and Wenceslaus, are sufficient examples; who were deposed, by the Electors, for their evil government. In Scotland, Durstus, Donald, Ethus, and James III. had the diadem stript from their brows, and were excluded from the throne, for their arbitrary and unjust behaviour: and Buchanan says, "That Scotland was free from the beginning; created itself kings on this very condition, that the empire being conferred on them by the suffrages of the people, if the matter required it, they might take it away by the same suffrages." *dispositio, imperium, liberum*
et regnum fuit cum imperio hoc QUEEN

QUEEN ELIZABETH, a few days before death had deprived England of so illustrious an ornament, nominated James VI. of Scotland, great grandson to James IV. and Mary his wife, eldest daughter of Henry VII. of England, for her successor; who, on her demise, ascended the throne of England, in the year 1603, though in express contradiction to the will of Henry VIII. who had limited the succession to the issue of his youngest sister Mary, by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. James I. was lineally descended from Walter, grandson to Bancho King of Scotland; who, after the retreat of his father Fleanchus, into Wales, was restored to favour with Malcom III. and, in the year 1057, was created Lord-High-Steward of Scotland; a post which placed him at the head of the nobility. This nobleman was the illustrious founder of the Steuartine family: several of his descendants make a considerable figure in the history of Scotland; but they had no opportunity of rising to the regal dignity, till Robert Bruce, one of the worthiest monarchs that ever filled the throne of Scotland, directed, by his will, that, in case David, his son, and successor, should die without issue, the crown should descend to Robert Steuart, his grandson by his eldest daughter; who, accordingly, succeeded in the year 1370; being the first monarch of the line, and the 101st King of Scotland.

JAMES VI. was the son of Mary Queen of Scots, by Henry Lord Darnley, son to Mathew Steuart Earl of Lenox; being the ninth monarch of the Steuartine line. His unhappy mother, during her residence in France, had contracted a bigotted zeal to the papal hierarchy;

PART archy; where she also imbibed a fondness of

VI. arbitrary power, and conceived high notions of hereditary right: these principles were early

1745. stamp'd on the tender mind of the young prince, in his minority, when the kingdom was under the regency of his mother; and these pernicious sentiments were the baleful source of all the future misfortunes of his family. James I. had an endowment of good natural parts, a tolerable share of learning, nor was he unacquainted with the salutary maxims of government: but his aversion to military exercise; his love of flattery; his blind fondness, and unnatural affection, for particular favourites; and his despotic principles of regal power; prevented him from putting his abilities into execution: so far from it, that his pacific reign was one continued series of ignominy, and dishonour, among the foreign nations; and of the most contemptible derision at home. This prince was thirty-six years of age when he succeeded to the throne of England, a succession that revived the ancient name of Britain, united the two kingdoms, and prognosticated the termination of all their military contentions: his English subjects gave him a generous reception; they, at first, entertained a favourable opinion of their new monarch; and the king gave early indications of consulting the prosperity of his subjects: but, alas! his professions were only artifices; his disssembled candour nothing but hypocrisy: artifices only to delude a nation into the snare of ruin; hypocrisy prompted by the faith of Rome, only to enslave a free people, and burst through the barrier of the protestant religion. This monarch long disguised his real sentiments from a nation he had reason to believe would hold them in abhorrence,
if

if they were discovered before he had subjected CHAP.
them to such a degree of servility, as might bow I.
their necks patiently to the arbitrary yoke: this
dissimulation continued even so long as the year 1745.
1609, when his majesty, in his fourth speech at
Whitehall, declared, "That the king was *lex*
" *loquens*, after a sort; binding himself, by a
" double oath, to the observation of the fun-
" damental laws of his kingdom; tacitly, as by
" being a king, and so bound to protect, as well
" the people, as the laws of his kingdom; and
" expressly, by his oath at his coronation: so as
" every just king, in a settled kingdom, is
" bound to observe that paction made to his
" people by his laws, in framing his govern-
" ment agreeable thereunto." How consonant
was this declaration to the fundamental law of
England? what might not a nation justly ex-
pect from a sovereign so truly sensible of the
constitutional rights of both king and people?
but how shamefully was the royal knowledge
perverted, and the nation how unworthily treat-
ed! Happy for the descendants of this prince,
had they practised what they essentially knew!
happy for their people, had they exercised the
royal authority with a royal justice; a justice
only equal to the national allegiance! then had
the Steuartine family sat gloriously on the Bri-
tish throne, invested with all the sublimity of
true magnificence, decked in all the radiance of
real majesty: while they had acted as kings,
they might have acted as gods; they might have
done whatever virtue would not blush to do;
their power, on that side, might have been en-
vied by the foremost of mankind; but when
they ceased to rule with justice, their subjects
VOL. IV. E ceased

PART VII. ceased to obey with deference ; when the monarch became a tyrant, the people became free.

1745.

Not content with a legal authority over the freest, bravest, and most opulent subjects in the universe, James I. aspired at cultivating the royal prerogative to a more unlimited height of power, than had been done even by Henry VIII. or any of his predecessors ; he first introduced the doctrine of hereditary right, a doctrine never before heard of in all the eastern tyrannies ; and which he was never able to insinuate among his people : In his reign the whig and tory parties had their production ; to him they owed their birth : hence was derived the ruin of his family ; and hence sprung that train of innumerable calamities, that afterwards infested the British nation : but, after all, this disregarded monarch sunk unregretted to the tomb, without accomplishing his invidious purposes ; leaving, for his successor, Charles, his third, but then only, son, by Anne, the daughter of Frederic second King of Denmark.

CHARLES I. was born, on the 19th of November, 1600, at Dumfermling, in Scotland ; he succeeded his father on the 27th of March, 1625 ; and, in less than two months after, was married to Henrietta Maria, the youngest daughter of Henry IV. of France. This unhappy monarch, was educated, from his infancy, in the same principles of unlimited regal authority, which his father had so much cultivated : but Charles was determined to carry his authority higher than his father attempted to do ; he was resolved to establish a despotic power ; and to this destructive point, he sacrificed every thing that made against it. His dispensing with the penal laws against papists, in the first year of his

his reign, was an early proof of what the people had to expect ; and his castration of the ancient coronation oath, by omitting the words, " That the king should consent to such laws, as the people should chuse ;" and inserting the words, " Saving the king's prerogative ;" sufficiently discovered his inclination to arbitrary power. The two first parliaments were dissolved, upon very unpopular and unplaussible reasons, for their presumption in arraigning the Duke of Buckingham ; and their making the redress of grievance, the previous condition of granting supplies : this made it perceptible to the nation, that their monarch, instead of redressing the despotic acts of his father, was preparing to add to them others more intolerable. Popish and French councils had now admission at court ; then arose the inconsistent doctrine of passive-obedience, and non-resistance, published, by the court, bishops, and clergy, among the inhabitants of a free monarchy : the holy temple was prostituted to the tenets of this ridiculous doctrine ; it was uttered, from the pulpit, in the royal chapel, " That the king was not bound to observe the laws of the realm, concerning the rights, and liberties, of the subjects ; but, that his royal will, and command, in imposing loans, and taxes, without common consent in parliament, obliged the conscience of the subjects, upon pain of eternal damnation ; and that those who refused to pay this loan, offended against the supreme authority, and became guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion." As the king resolved to govern without parliaments, all projects for raising money were greedily embraced ; monopolies, the stagnation of commerce, were exerted ; and

CHAP.

I.

1745.

PART ship-money, an obsolete tax, was revived, contrary to Magna Charta, which produced 260,000*l*.

VII.

1745.

At the instigation of Laud, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, the king endeavoured to introduce episcopacy in Scotland, and entirely subvert presbyterianism : such an unexpected step set that kingdom in a flame: the nobility, and gentry, entered into a covenant, or association, to maintain their civil and religious rights, against all innovations: they marched an army into England: and, at last, compelled the king to a pacification, whereby they obtained the abolition of episcopacy, and the confirmation of their rights. The resolution of the Scotch, gave the alarm to England, and petitions were sent, from all parts of the kingdom, complaining of great grievances; particularly breaches of parliamentary privileges, innovations in religion, the encouragement of popery, and the invasion of property: this occasioned his majesty to assemble the parliament, which had been illegally suspended; and the first step, the commons took, was to impeach the Earl of Strafford the prime minister, Arch-bishop Laud, the Lord-Keeper Finch, and Secretary Windbank, who had principally contributed to gratify the king, and distress the nation: the two former were sent to the tower, and the two latter avoided the storm by escaping abroad. This struck such a consternation on all the courtiers, that none could think of depending on the king for protection: hence the face of affairs began to alter exceedingly, and the parliament became so formidable, that his majesty, for a while, could not refuse the royal assent to whatever they pleased to enact; so that several acts were passed for reducing the overgrown prerogatives

gatives of the crown, and for taking off several CHAP.
impositions on the people. The bill for the I.
attainder of the Earl of Strafford, after passing
both houses, was, much against his inclination, 1746.
ratified by the king; and that great minister
lost his head, on the 12th of May, 1641, to the
great mortification of his royal patron, who, vain-
ly, endeavoured to save him: the parliament also
abolished the star-chamber, and high commis-
sion courts, and voted the levying of ship-
money illegal. The terrible massacre, of above
150,000 protestants, in Ireland; the indulgencies
of the king, to some of the vile perpetrators of
that horrid tragedy; and the commotions, oc-
casioned by a very popular bill, for depriving
the English bishops of their seats, in parliament;
involved the court, and kingdom, in a great
ferment, till the 3d of January, 1642, when
his majesty took the most imprudent, and pre-
judicial step, that could possibly be taken in such
a dangerous juncture: this was, in sending the
attorney general, to both houses of parliament,
to accuse the Lord Kimbolton, and five mem-
bers of the house of commons, of high treason,
only because they had been the most active in
opposing the measures of the court; for the
articles, on which the commoners were ac-
cused, would equally have served against the
whole house; the commons refused to de-
liver up the accused members; upon which
his majesty, attended with a strong military
force, came to the house of commons, and per-
sonally demanded them; but they had previ-
ously made their escape, and the house voted,
“ That the king had violated their privileges,
“ and that they could not sit there any longer,
“ without a full vindication of so high a breach,
E 3 “ and

PART “and a guard for the safety of their persons.”

VII. Unhappy for the king, unhappy for the nation, this sudden action was the visible and apparent ground of all the miseries of a civil war; prosecuted with the greatest animosity, in the bowels of their bleeding country; nor terminated till the royal martyr fell a lamented victim, to the merciless rage of ambitious Cromwell, and his detestable associates. The king resolving to assert his prerogative in the highest extent; and the parliament being as resolute to secure their liberties from invasion; both sides had recourse to arms. Many of the nobility, and gentry, crowded to the royal standard; and as many repaired to the parliamentary army, commanded by the Earl of Essex, who, as well as the most distinguished part of his confederates, drew the sword in defence of the privileges, and liberty, of their country; not in opposition to the regal authority, but to confine it within the natural channel of legal government. Horrible is the idea of all the dreadful calamities, that poor England suffered in these civil commotions: while slaughter hovered round the land, what dreadful acts, what bloody scenes, what dire calamities, were felt in every part of the distracted kingdom! Edge-hill, Marston-moor, and Naseby, will be everlasting monuments of this destructive rage, between a deluded prince, and an exasperated people. The total defeat of the royalists, at Naseby, by Lord Fairfax, who succeeded the Earl of Essex in commanding the parliamentary forces, crushed all the hopes of the regal party: then Cromwell, like a baleful comet, began to make his dreadful appearance; to accumulate horror upon horror; and make even the ravages of civil fury, harmless and innocent

innocent to the dreadful purposes of his savage CHAP. and inhuman heart. While the king was in I. arms to subvert the law, even Scotland sent a force to make the parliamentary opposition 1745. more formidable: but when their monarch was disarmed, when he became incapable of continuing any longer innoxious, when conscientious faith had convinced him of his error, no sooner did he promise an attonement, than the two nations were willing to testify their former allegiance, were ready to acknowledge a prince, now sensible of the danger, the illegality, of encroaching on the liberties of a free and gallant people. Melancholy reflection! Legal opposition was now metamorphosed to obdurate rebellion: Cromwell had made his army a brood of scorpions: he was at the head of the enthusiastic independents; a party that soon crushed the presbyterians, who had hitherto maintained a majority in the parliamentary interest: the king was now in his possession; and, though the parliament were for disbanding the army, and accommodating matters with their unfortunate monarch; their honest intentions were frustrated by Cromwell, who was absolute master of the army; whose ambitious spirit nothing less than a total revolution of government could gratify; and whose implacable revenge nothing less than the blood of a king could appease, in expiation for those offences which were now more forgotten in pity, than remembered in hatred: barbarous attempt, unheard of cruelty! Yet the views of Cromwell were penetrated, and opposed, by several who had been engaged in the parliament interest: when their king was in danger, the nation was now equally concerned for his preservation, as they had formerly been for

PART their own : Scotland sent an army, of 14,000

VII. men, under the Duke of Hamilton, to his assistance ; who entered England, advanced to

1745. Preston in Lancashire, was there met, and unfortunately defeated by Cromwell. The resolute

victor continued his march to Edinburgh ; there

every thing was settled to his satisfaction ; and

then he returned to London ; where he expelled

the presbyterian members out of the house, got

a parliament of his own, brought the king be-

fore a tyrannical court of pretended justice, and

pronounced sentence of death against this unfor-

tunate prince, which was executed, on the 30th

of January 1648, before his own palace, in the

midst of his capital, and to the eternal infamy

of the regicides : an act contrary to all laws, hu-

man and divine ; a catastrophe too villainously

shocking to be mentioned, without the greatest

horror, and the highest detestation.

THIS unfortunate monarch left three chil-

dren ; Charles, who afterwards succeeded to the

crown ; James, who succeeded his brother

Charles ; and Henrietta Maria, who was mar-

ried, in 1661, to Philip Duke of Anjou, after-

wards Duke of Orleans, by whom she had issue

Mary Aloisa, wife to the late, and mother to

the present King of Sardinia. This royal pro-

geny took an asylum in France ; but the Prince

of Wales received the first information of the

tragical death of his father at the Hague ; upon

which he assumed the regal title, being then

eighteen years of age ; and soon after the Scots

sent to acquaint him that they had proclaimed

him, with the usual solemnities, in their coun-

try, and were ready to receive and defend him

as their king. This invited the prince over to

Scotland, where the inhabitants entirely disap-

proved

proved the murder of his father: they solemnly CHAP.
crowned their young sovereign, at Scoon; and I.
assembled an army, of 27,000 men, under the
command of David Lesly, to support his autho- 1745.
rity. Cromwell, at the head of 18,000 men,
marched into Scotland; advanced towards the
Scotch army, posted at Dunbar; where he at-
tacked them, and obtained a complete victory.
The Scotch, not intimidated at the success of
Cromwell, soon assembled another army of
18,000 men, headed by the young king in per-
son; who took the opportunity of marching
for England: though Cromwell diligently fol-
lowed him, and, by the fatal battle of Worces-
ter, extinguished all his immediate hopes of
ascending the English throne: but the young
prince, after a miraculous escape, arrived in
Normandy; and continued in France during
the long usurpation of Cromwell. The usurper
dying, on the 3d of September 1658, General
Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle, disposed
the army to receive their fugitive prince; and,
the new parliament concurring in the design,
the restoration was accomplished, in the year
1660, with the unanimous approbation of the
two kingdoms. Charles II. had attained his
thirtieth year when he took possession of the
English throne, which he ascended amid the
loudest acclamations of his joyful subjects; who
now formed to themselves the agreeable ideas of
a tranquil and prudent reign, free from every in-
croachment of an arbitrary disposition: alas, how
vain their hopes, how empty all their wishes!
The king had privately embraced the Popish re-
ligion abroad, with a view of procuring his res-
toration by the assistance of France and Spain;
and this step was so well concealed, that it was
known

PART known to none but the Earls of Bristol and Ar-
 VII. lington, who were privy to the ceremony, till
 1745. after his death; when James II. did not scruple
 to divulge it: this secrecy gave Charles an opportunity of disguising his sentiments, and publickly to boast of his attachment to the protestant religion; because it brought him effectual supplies, which were applied more to gratify his inordinate desires, than for the security of the nation from the resentment of the Dutch. Though this monarch had a more ample revenue than any of his predecessors, it was insufficient to supply those necessities in which the luxury of his court, and his shameful extravagancies, were continually involving him: so that, in 1671, he took the resolution of pursuing the maxims of his father, in using arbitrary methods of raising money; and one of his expedients was, the shutting up of the exchequer for eighteen months, to the ruin, or impoverishment, of several families. This step, and some others, tending to make himself absolute, that so he might have the opulence of his subjects at command, without applying to parliament; and also the visible increase, encouragement, and introduction of popery; occasioned a great uneasiness, and clamorous invectives among the community, from the peasant to the nobleman. The king either disregarded his subjects, or was unacquainted with their complaints: his voluptuous court had drowned him in sensuality: his palace was a brothel; and some of his parliament little better than a nest of panders, profligates, and usurers, while the deceitful monarch was, every day, taking larger and larger steps to make himself absolute, that he might establish popery, and bind the people in the chains of passive obedience:
 for

for till this time he had thrown himself as a pensioner into the arms of France, whose ambassador paid him 300,000*l.* annually to animate the execution of his projects, in reducing a free people to slavery, and bowing the neck of a protestant nation before the superstitious altar of Rome. From the year 1673 to the year 1680, the king was continually at variance with the parliament; who then warmly endeavoured to get a bill passed for excluding the Duke of York from the succession; because he was more than suspected of having embraced the papal religion: but the king, resolving to stand by his brother, dissolved the parliament; and, during the remainder of his life, governed in a lawless arbitrary manner, as though he had determined to disannul every authority of parliament. In 1683 the king exerted his power to the most unlimited height of tyranny, which plunged the Earl of Essex into the gulph of eternity; brought the amiable, worthy, and learned, Lord Russel to the scaffold, where the ax, commissioned by the rude hand of barbarous power, shed the noblest blood of Britain, and deprived the world of its greatest ornament: nor was the death of this nobleman unattended with another less conspicuous, when the great Algernoon Sidney was dragged to the block, an illustrious martyr to despotic vengeance. The rigour with which several other innocent persons were prosecuted, and punished, either with death, excessive fines, or perpetual imprisonment, struck the whole nation with a general terror; a terror that gave the king an opportunity of completing the slavery of his subjects, by resuming the charters from the corporate towns, in which he found little opposition, from the dread of his army: London

PART don surrendered first; the other principal corporations followed the example; and the rest
 VII. gradually dropt into the pernicious snare; till,
 1745. at last, the nation remained stript of all their

privileges, and naked of every right, exclusive of what dictatorial authority condescended to allow. But the monarch, whose rapacious hand had invaded the sacred property, and privileges, of the nation, did not long enjoy his unlimited power; being suddenly snatched away from the world, on the 6th of February 1684, without any legal issue; so that the crown descended to his brother James, Duke of York, who was then advanced above the third grand climacterical era; being in the fifty-first year of his age.

JAMES II. had scarce been invested with the royal ermine, before he gave demonstrable instances of curbing the nation down to the servile impositions of his predecessor, of introducing papists into the government, and of obtaining a parliamentary repeal of the laws against popery: and all this after the most solemn declaration, made openly to the council, on his coming to the crown, "That he would make
 " it his endeavours to preserve the government,
 " both in church and state, as established by
 " law." After the suppression of the rebellion in the west; the execution of the Duke of Monmouth; and the most transcendent arts of barbarity, exercised by the bloody and insatiate Lord Chief Justice Jefferies, in conjunction with the inhuman Kirk; the king soon convinced his subjects, of his opinion, that arbitrary power in the supreme magistrate, and slavery to the subject, were inseparable from a papal government, founded on hereditary right of succession: he had a tory parliament entirely at his devotion;
 the

the nation, in 1685, was awed by the terror of CHAP. I.
a standing army, of 15,000 men, raised without
the consent of parliament; and this encouraged
the doctrine of passive obedience to be openly
promulgated, as an essential article of the church
of England; the surest method of abolishing the
protestant religion. The church, the army,
the privy council, the bench of judges, the public
offices, and the magistracy all over the kingdom,
were filled with papists: the protestant clergy
were prohibited from preaching against popery:
the king, in 1686, closetted the judges, to induce
them to declare the legality of his dispensing with
acts of parliament, and displaced four who refused
to comply; which occasioned a declaration for the
suspension, and disannulling, of the laws against
popery: and a court of high commission was erected,
in imitation of Queen Mary, for ecclesiastical
affairs, principally composed of popish members;
a court notoriously illegal, and little better than
an office of inquisition; because it was created to
compel an absolute obedience to the tyrannical
inhibition of Romish tenets. The Bishop of London
was suspended, for refusing an implicit conformity
to the directions of the court of commission:
the fellows of Magdalen College at Oxford were
deprived for not admitting a popish president,
contrary to their statutes: the Vice-Chancellor
of Cambridge was also illegally deprived: the king,
to give an unquestionable proof of his zeal for
the church of Rome, sent the Earl of Castle-
main as ambassador to the Pontiff; and, in 1687,
a popish nuncio was introduced to a public
audience at Windsor. In 1688, seven of the
Bishops delivered a petition to the king, praying
him to dispense with their distributing, and
publicly

PART

VII.

1745.

lickly reading, one of his declarations in favour of popery: the king pretended that this was a seditious libel, tending to diminish his prerogative; the worthy prelates were imprisoned in the tower, and brought to a trial at the court of king's bench, where they were acquitted with the loudest acclamations; though two of the judges were displaced, for their honesty in declaring the innocency of the bishops. While these honourable prelates were in confinement, on the 10th of June 1688, the queen either was, or was pretended to have been, delivered of a prince: this occasioned an unbounded flow of joy among the ministerial favourites, and the friends of popery; because the princesses Mary and Anne, the king's daughters by a former wife, had been educated as protestants, were both married to protestant princes, and were the only apparent heirs to the crown; which, on their successions was sure to adorn the head of a protestant sovereign: but now there was an expectation of a popish successor; the Roman Pontiff was godfather to the infant, the nuntio representing his holiness at the font; and the infant was undoubtedly to receive early inculcations of every superstitious tenet of the Romish faith. To this unlimited, this most dangerous height, had James II. stretched the arbitrary arm of despotic power; a dreadful, desperate extension!

ENGLAND was not alone reduced to this sad extremity; Scotland participated the same misfortunes; nor was Ireland exempted from an equal load of affliction. The nobility, the principal inhabitants, the whole community of Scotland, loudly complained, that the king had invaded the fundamental constitution of the kingdom; had altered the legal limited monarchy to an arbitrary and despotic power: that he had,
by

by a public proclamation, asserted an absolute power to annul and disable all laws, particularly by arraigning the laws establishing the protestant religion; and had exerted that power to the subversion of the protestant religion, and to the violation of the laws, and liberties, of the kingdom. Public schools, and societies of jesuits, were erected in Scotland; the solemnization of mass was not only publickly permitted, but also the converting of protestant churches, and chapels, to public mass-houses, contrary to the most sacred laws of the nation: the children of protestant noblemen, and gentlemen, were taken from their parents, and sent abroad for a popish education: pensions were bestowed upon priests, to pervert protestants from their religion, by the seducing offers of places, and preferments: protestants were discharged from the most important offices, and papists promoted to places of the greatest trust, both civil and military: oaths were imposed contrary to law: money exacted without consent of parliament, or convention of estates: a standing army levied without parliamentary consultation, and maintained upon free quarter: military officers were employed as judges throughout the kingdom, by whom the subjects were put to death, without legal trial, jury, or record: extravagant bail was exacted; and fines, and forfeitures, disposed of before any process, or conviction: several persons were unjustly imprisoned; the trials of some were delayed; others were prosecuted upon the extension of old and obsolete laws; and many had their estates forfeited, upon weak and frivolous pretences, and upon lame and defective proofs, as particularly the Earl of Argyle, who was beheaded, in 1685, for fomenting an insurrection, which the Scotch parlia-

CHAP.

I.

1745.

PART

VII.

1745.

parliament afterwards voted to be an act scandalous to the national justice: the rights of the royal boroughs were subverted, by imposing upon them magistrates, town-council, and clerks, disagreeable to the people; so that the commissioners to parliament being chosen by the magistrates, and councils, the king might, in effect, as well nominate the estate of parliament: the judges were commanded how to proceed in cases depending before them; and other impositions, some ridiculous, others scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot, to the greatest indignity, and detriment of the nation.

THE management of this monarch in Ireland, served only further to display the character of a popish government: for the Earl of Tyrconnel was appointed Lord Lieutenant; who, immediately, altered the judges, and new modelled the army, correspondent to the inclinations of the king; exercising the most intolerable severities against the protestants. Papists were encouraged to act the greatest enormities: innocence lay vainly weeping before the tribunal of justice: the army insolently perpetrated the greatest villany, and the law supported it. Many protestants were indicted, fined, and imprisoned, by the malice, avarice, and perjury, of papists; no protestant lawyer was admitted to plead in their defence; and, being unable to satisfy the king for their excessive fines, their bodies were seized, their estates confiscated; and, at last, almost all the protestant gentlemen were imprisoned, without pretence of reason, warrant, or form of law. The protestant militia was dissolved; and, though they had purchased their own arms, were obliged to deposit them among the stores: the protestants of Dublin, were not permitted

permitted to wear, or keep, a sword, under the CHAP. penalty of being estimated rebels, or traitors ; I. their horses were took from them in the same manner ; their expences were increased, their 1745. trade ruined, their houses plundered, their towns impoverished, and their villages destroyed, by robberies, and free quarters. Their real estates had the same fate ; a counterfeit deed, produced by a catholic, would turn a protestant gentleman out of all his possessions. The University of Dublin was shut up, and protestant schools in the country prohibited : while popish seminaries were erected, and the legal maintenance of the protestant clergy converted to the use of jesuitical priests. Temples were no sanctuaries ; the protestant churches were profaned with every violent mark of rudeness, and indecency ; the sacred doors were broke open, mass was celebrated, and the furious priests denounced it sacrilege to restore the churches to heretics. When the papists had thus excluded the protestant worship, and drove the miserable people into private houses for the exercise of religion, they molested even their most sequestered retreats ; forbidding more than five to meet together, under pain of death. Nor was life spared : though they did not think proper to make a general slaughter, as in 1641 ; yet many protestants were killed by the soldiers, murdered in their houses, executed by martial law, starved in goals, and suffered to perish in dungeons : a scheme was concerted to deprive the protestants of the liberty of purchasing bread, and the common sustenance of nature : so that if this merciless power had continued in the papists, they would have made out those menaces, whereby they threatened to starve one

PART half of the protestants, and hang the other.

VII. For what is it that poor, and ignorant people, would not put in execution, when excited by
 1745 the erronèous impulse of superstition, and prompted by the wild and desperate zeal of furious priests? surely nothing! no not such horrid scenes as would startle the blackest conscience; shake the inmost seat of humanity, and snatch the bloody dagger from the daring hand of impiety! Little else could be expected from a sect devoted to a religion, which not only emancipates them from all the ties of faith, truth, and concord, to others of a different persuasion; but makes it their absolute duty, to burst the bonds of nature, scorn the blessings of society, banish charity, and cancel every solemn pledge of allegiance; every civil and religious right; and all this with a restriction, of enjoying neither terrestrial prosperity, nor celestial happiness; if unattempted against every one, who despises, or denies, the papal authority.

THIS unhappy monarch, seduced by Romish bigots, had thus invaded, with a high hand, the religious and civil rights of his people: instead of giving the least hope of amendment, he was proceeding with rapidity to the utter destruction of both. Subjects were not made for princes to be treated as their absolute property, and descend from one to another like cattle, let them be used as they will; much more the people of a free constitution: but princes were made for their subjects; to govern them legally, seek their good, and consult their preservation: what is the duty of the one, is the right of the other; and where there is a right, there ought to be a remedy. Common remedies are ever to be used in common cases; and if they are insufficient,

sufficient, single persons ought to bear every thing, and nations every thing, that can be supported without destruction, rather than break the public peace, and established order, of government: but in extreme, imminent, universal dangers, methods of the last resort, if necessary, and probable to succeed, are fully warranted, by the original constitution of Britain, by ancient practice upon it, and royal recognitions of it. Such considerations touched the principal inhabitants of the three kingdoms, with the present, and approaching, calamities of their country; they formed the glorious resolution of relieving their fellow subjects from papal tyranny, and arbitrary oppression; which they boldly, and successfully executed. The nobility, and other eminent personages, immediately directed their view to the Prince and Princess of Orange; on them all the felicity of Britain and Ireland depended; in them every joyous hope of reviving liberty was concentrated; and the prince readily embraced the opportunity of securing the succession to the princess his wife, now deprived of her right, either by a legal, or a supposititious prince, but which was equally indifferent, since he was destined for an instrument of Rome: the Dutch concurred in the design; they furnished the prince with a fleet, and an army of 15,000 men; which landed, on the 5th of November, 1688, at Torbay, in Devonshire; from whence the prince conducted his army towards Salisbury, where the king had assembled an army to oppose his son-in-law. The Prince of Orange was looked upon as the guardian of the British liberty; the nobility, and gentry, from all parts of the kingdom, were continually joining him, and he

CHAP.

I.

1745.

PART found no opposition in marching to the metro-
 VII. polis of England, where he was received with
 1745. universal joy; while the popish Hydra lay
 gasping in convulsive agonies, beneath the feet
 of her subduer; for the timid king, dazzled at
 the dawning ray of liberty, flew from her glo-
 rious presence, to a nation long unconscious of
 her sacred influence: France gave a refuge to
 the unhappy monarch, who quitted his throne,
 abdicated his kingdoms, and lost the greatest
 happiness of human kind, the pleasure of reign-
 ing justly over so great, so free, a people! and
 all through an hereditary obstinacy, of subvert-
 ing the throne of freedom to a footstool of pa-
 pal insolence, and tyrannical pride: an example
 to succeeding monarchs, that arbitrary power,
 and mean servility, are incompatible with the
 constitution of Britain, and are derogatory to the
 sentiments of a free, brave, just, and generous
 people.

THE three kingdoms, from the day of this
 happy revolution, were instated in a condition
 of enjoying religion, life, liberty, and proper-
 ty, rescued from the most imminent danger of
 having them for ever dependent upon the de-
 spotic will of a popish sovereign: a convention
 was assembled at Westminster, on the 22d of
 January, 1688, when the lords, and commons,
 presented, to the Prince and Princess of Orange,
 a declaration of the national offences committed
 by the abdicated monarch; and, after declar-
 ing the throne vacant, conferred it on the
 prince and princess, with the title of King and
 Queen of England, France, and Ireland; and
 the convention in Scotland also conferred the
 succession of that crown upon their majesties.
 The English parliament, soon after the revolu-
 tion,

tion, drew up the bill of rights, intituled, "An CHAP.
" act declaring the rights and liberties of the I.
" subjects, and settling the succession of the
" crown:" carrying in it the noble resentment 1745.
of a people that had been just rescued from tyranny; and yet, that they might justify their actions to posterity, it recited all the particular instances of the tyrannical reign, in a plain and dispassionate simplicity: by this act they insisted on several of the ancient and indubitable rights, and liberties, of the people: they declared that the late monarch had abdicated the government, and that their majesties were justly intituled to the crown: therefore, for preventing all questions, and divisions, by reason of any pretended title to the throne, and for preserving a certainty in the succession, upon which the peace, safety, and unity, of the nation might depend, it was enacted, " That the full exercise of the
" regal power should be executed by the king,
" in the name of both their majesties, during
" their joint lives; and, after their deceases, the
" said crown, and premises, should be, and remain, to the heirs of the body of her majesty; and, for default of such issue, to her
" royal highness the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and, for
" default of such issue, to the heirs of the body
" of his majesty:" It was thereby also enacted,
" That all, and every, person, and persons,
" that was, were, or should be, reconciled to,
" or hold communion with the see or church
" of Rome, or should profess the popish religion, or should marry a papist, should be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit,
" possess, or enjoy the crown, and government,
" of England, and Ireland; and, in all,

PART " and every, such case, or cases, the people of
 VII. " these realms, should be, and were thereby,
 1745. " absolved of their allegiance; and the said
 " crown, and government, should from time
 " to time, descend to, and be enjoyed by, such
 " person, or persons, being protestants, as
 " should have inherited, and enjoyed, the same,
 " in case the said person, or persons, so recon-
 " ciled, holding communion, or professing, or
 " marrying as aforesaid, were naturally dead :"
 all which was ratified by the regal assent : but
 though it was a sort of a new Magna Charta,
 in explaining the liberty of the subjects; yet the
 nation, afterwards, had the mortification to find
 entire confidence take place of express contract;
 and the people were to search in vain for those
 other conditions, and limitations, which should
 have rendered the constitution invariable, and
 immortal. The parliament of Scotland followed
 the example of the English parliament, in settling
 and limiting the succession of the crown; they
 also drew up a bill of rights, and took this op-
 portunity of abolishing episcopacy, by declaring,
 " That prelacy, and superiority of an office in
 " the church, above presbyters, was, and had
 " been, a great and unsupportable burden to
 " the nation, and contrary to the inclinations
 " of the generality of the people, ever since
 " the reformation; they having reformed po-
 " pery by presbytery; and therefore ought to
 " be abolished." Thus appear the causes that
 each nation had for the revolution, and the
 just reasons for thus limiting the entail of their
 respective crowns, by these salutary instruments;
 settlements which ought to be written in the
 heart of every true Briton, and engraven on co-
 lumns of brass, to be erected in every principal
 part

part of the island, that posterity might know how much their ancestors suffered, and how much more they were in danger of suffering, from a popish prince.

CHAP.

I.

1745.

THE abdicated monarch, now beheld himself an exile in a foreign kingdom, and the pensioner of a prince, whose friendship he had preferred to his own indubitable interest, and the affection of his people. Lewis endeavoured to mitigate the rigour of his fortune; he granted him an honourable subsistence, and assigned him for his residence the royal palace of St Germain, situate on the river Seyne, fourteen miles N. W. of Paris; where, with a few of the nobility, and gentry, who continued faithful to him in adversity, he still retained the shadow of a court: nor were his hopes of re-ascending the throne wholly extinguished; he had still many secret friends in England, especially the catholics, who could not but be devoted to the attachment of a prince who had sacrificed his regal dignity in the cause of Rome: Ireland, by the artful management of the Earl of Tyrconnel, was wholly at his devotion; and Scotland had a considerable party ready to attempt his restoration. The royal exile, in 1689, obtained the assistance of the French monarch, who supplied him with 2,000 troops, 1,500,000 livres, and a squadron to convoy them to Ireland, where the unaccountable inattention of the English ministry had given Tyrconnel an opportunity of assembling an army ready to join the fugitive prince, on his arrival. King James embarked, with his French succours, at Brest, attended by his two natural sons, the Duke of Berwick, and Mr Fitz James the grand prior; the Duke of Powis; the Earls of Dover, Melfort, Seaforth,

PART Buchan, and Abercorn; the Lords Henry, and
 VII. Thomas Howard; the Count d'Avaux, the
 French ambassador; the Bishops of Chester, and
 1745. Galloway; the Lords Drummond, Dungan,
 Frendraught, Hunsdon, and Brittas; Lord Chief
 Justice Herbert, the Marquis d'Estrades; Mar-
 shal Rozen; with eleven baronets, and thirty-six
 general officers: on his arrival in Ireland, he found
 his affairs in a very favourable condition; he had
 an army of 30,000 foot, and 8,000 horse, at
 his command; and a popish parliament ready
 to grant him the demanded subsidies. James
 committed several acts of misconduct in Ireland,
 which evidently denoted his perseverance in those
 unhappy principles that had occasioned all his
 misfortunes: his victory over the protestants, at
 Dunmore, inspirited his army: but the gallant
 resistance of Londonderry, and the bravery of
 the Inniskilliners, dejected his aspiring hopes;
 which soon afterwards were entirely frustrated by
 the arrival of King William, and the memo-
 rable battle of the Boyne: this occasioned the
 return of the defeated monarch to France; and,
 in 1691, he was totally disappointed by the
 dreadful battle of Aghrim, and the surrender of
 Limerick. The battle of Killcrankie, and the
 death of the Viscount Dundee, extinguished
 all the hopes of reducing Scotland; and the ab-
 dicated monarch, after some ineffectual attempts
 of his French patron to reinstate him in Eng-
 land, continued quietly at St Germain's, where
 he died of a lethargy, on the 6th of July, 1701,
 aged 68.

JAMES II. while he was Duke of York, and
 during his exile under the usurpation of Crom-
 well, was married, in 1659, to Mrs Anne Hyde,
 eldest Daughter of the Right Honourable Ed-
 ward

ward Hyde, Esq; Chancellor of the Exchequer, CHAP.
afterwards created Earl of Clarendon, and Lord I.

Chancellor of England; by whom he had two daughters, the Princess Mary, married to the Prince of Orange; and the Princess Anne, married to Prince George, the second son of Frederic III. King of Denmark; who both ascended the British throne. The mother of these princesses dying, on the 31st of March 1671, their father, while he was still Duke of York, married his second wife Mary d'Este, daughter of Alphonso d'Este Duke of Modena, on the 21st of November 1673; by whom he had a son, named James-Francis-Edward, born on the 10th of June 1688; and a daughter who died, in 1712, unmarried. The birth of this prince was somewhat suspicious; he had been looked upon in France as the Prince of Wales, and treated as the presumptive heir of the British nation: on the death of his father he was in the thirteenth year of his age; he was openly acknowledged, by Lewis XIV, as King of Great Britain, by the title of James III. and afterwards served the court of France as a very necessary utensil, in attempting to accomplish an universal monarchy, in favour of the House of Bourbon.

QUEEN MARY died, on the 28th of December 1694, of the small pox at Kensington, without issue; and this, followed by the death of that hopeful royal infant the Duke of Gloucester, the only surviving issue of the Princess Anne of Denmark, on the 29th of July 1700, gave fresh alarms to the English nation; who now saw the entail of the crown reduced to the lives of King William and the Princess Anne: they saw the hopes of a popish party taking new spirit, and beginning

PART beginning to revive: they saw a long train of

VII. popish princes of the blood next in descent, after
 the demises of King William and the Princess

1745. of Denmark: they remembered the danger they
 had so lately been in from one popish prince;
 and, therefore, thought it high time to take all
 necessary cautions to prevent the same, for the
 future, from a numerous train of princes, in the
 same persuasion, all, or most of whom, were
 very near in blood to a neighbouring monarch,
 the most powerful among the European princes,
 whose interest, as well as inclination, would en-
 gage him to support their pretensions with his
 whole force. Popery was the general abhorrence
 of the whole island; and to every opportunity
 of introducing it again upon the throne, it was
 found requisite to extend the limitation of the
 crown in favour of the next protestant heir: this
 was the Princess Sophia, daughter of Frederic V.
 Elector Palatine, and King of Bohemia, by the
 Princess Elizabeth, the only surviving daugh-
 ter of James I. King of England; who was
 married to Ernest Augustus Elector of Hanover:
 to this princess some overtures had been made,
 by the friends of King William, even before
 the revolution, concerning the limitation of the
 succession in the House of Hanover; she was
 then desirous of obtaining such an addition of
 honour and dignity; and King William, being
 in the decline of life, was determined to exert
 all his interest, and authority, in favour of the
 House of Hanover. This gave birth to another
 act of parliament in England, passed in the 12th
 and 13th years of the reign of King William,
 intituled, "An act for the further limitation of
 " the crown; and better securing the rights,
 " and liberties, of the subject;" whereby it
 was

was enacted, " That the most illustrious Princefs CHAP.
" Sophia, Electorefs and Duchefs Dowager of I.
" Hanover, was declared the next in fucceffion
" in the protestant line, to the crown of Eng- 1745.
" land, after his majesty King William, and the
" Princefs Anne of Denmark, and their respec-
" tive issue ; and that, from and after the de-
" ceases of the King and Princefs of Denmark,
" and the heirs of their respective bodies, the
" crown should be, remain, and continue, to
" the said Princefs Sophia, and the heirs of her
" body, being protestants:" though the Duchefs
of Savoy, protested against this alteration of the
fucceffion to her prejudice ; she being next in
blood, as daughter to the Duke of Orleans, by
Henrietta Maria the only surviving daughter of
King Charles I. Not content with thus securing
the protestant fucceffion in the House of Hano-
ver, King William, in the following year, rati-
fied another act of parliament, intituled, " An
" act of attainder of the pretended Prince of
" Wales of high treason," whereby it was en-
acted, " That he be attainted of high treason,
" and suffer pains of death as a traytor ; and if
" any subject of England should, within, or with-
" out, the realm, hold, entertain, or keep,
" any intelligence, or correspondence, in per-
" son, or by letters, messages, or otherwise, with
" the said pretended Prince of Wales, or with
" any person, or persons, employed by him,
" knowing such person to be so employed by
" him ; or should, by bill of exchange, or other-
" wise, remit, or pay, any money, for the use,
" or service, of the said pretended Prince of
" Wales, knowing such money to be for such
" use, or service, that such person should be
" guilty of high treason ; and where any offence
" against

PART “ against this act should be committed out of
VII. “ the realm, the same might be laid, and tried,

“ in any county of England.” Another act
1745. was also passed, at the same time, intituled,
“ An act for the further security of his majesty’s
“ person, and the succession of the crown in
“ the protestant line, and for extinguishing the
“ hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, or
“ all other pretenders, and their open and se-
“ cret abettors ;” whereby the oath of abjura-
tion was directed to be taken by all persons in
public employments, by which they were so-
lemnly to declare, that the pretender had no
right or title to the crown, and to renounce, re-
fuse, and abjure, any allegiance, or obedience, to
him. King William not only confined his vigi-
lance to England ; the happiness of Scotland
was equally his care : he zealously attempted to
have had the succession to the crown of that
kingdom settled also on the House of Hanover,
according to the example of England, and to
have united both kingdoms : but these benefits
were reserved to augment the glories of his
successor.

QUEEN ANNE was but just seated on her
throne, when she gave the royal assent to an act,
“ For the further security of the succession of
“ the crown in the protestant line, and for ex-
“ tinguishing the hopes of the pretender ;”
whereby it was declared high treason, “ For any
“ person, or persons, that should endeavour to
“ deprive, or hinder, any person who should
“ be the next in succession to the crown, accord-
“ ing to the limitations since the revolution, from
“ succeeding to the crown.” This excellent
princess, in the fourth and fifth years of her
reign, also gave the royal assent to another act,
intituled,

intituled, "An act for the better securing her CHAP.
" majesty's person, and government, and of the I.
" succession of the crown of England in the
" protestant line;" by which it was enacted, 1745.
" That if any person, or persons, should, by
" writing, and printing, declare, and affirm,
" that the pretender had any right or title to
" the crown; or that the kings, and queens,
" of England, with, and by, the authority of
" the parliament of England, were not able to
" make laws, and statutes, of sufficient force,
" and validity, to limit, and bind, the crown
" of the realm, and the descent, limitation,
" inheritance, and government, thereof; every
" such person, or persons, should be guilty of
" high treason: and that if any person, or per-
" sons, should, by preaching, teaching, or ad-
" vised speaking, declare, and affirm, the same,
" every such person, or persons, should incur
" the danger, and penalty of præmunire;"
that is, perpetual banishment, and forfeiture of
lands, goods, and chattels.

THE parliament of Scotland could not be,
immediately, induced to conform to the pro-
testant succession, in the House of Hanover; for
when an act was proposed, by the Earl of March-
mont, for this purpose, it was rejected, by a
great majority; and the Scotch parliament
resolved, in 1705, "That they could not pro-
ceed to the nomination of a successor, till
" they had a previous treaty with England,
" in relation to their commerce; and had set-
tled such limitations, and conditions, of go-
vernment, as might secure their freedom, re-
ligion, and independency." However, the
queen had the happiness to accomplish such an
important service, by uniting the two kingdoms:
this

PART this was effected by commissioners appointed on
 VII. both sides, who, on the 6th of July, 1606, agreed
 upon twenty-five articles, which were approved

1745.

and ratified by two several acts of the respective
 parliaments, as the sure and perpetual founda-
 tion of a complete and entire union of the two
 kingdoms: in which acts each kingdom pro-
 vided for the preservation of its respective
 church. In the first of these articles of union, it
 was agreed, " That the two kingdoms, of Eng-
 " land and Scotland, should, from the 1st of
 " May, 1707, and for ever after, be united in-
 " to one kingdom, by the name of Great Bri-
 " tain:" and, by the second article, it was
 agreed, " That the succession to the monarchy
 " of the united kingdom of Great Britain, and
 " of the dominions thereto belonging, should
 " descend to the House of Hanover, in such
 " manner as the crown of England had been
 " already limited, in prejudice to the right of
 " every papist, and all persons marrying papists,
 " who should be excluded from the crown of
 " Great Britain, which was to descend only to
 " protestants, according to the provision for
 " the descent of the crown of England declared
 " by the bill of rights." After which, an act
 of parliament, of the united kingdom of Great
 Britain, was passed, intituled, " An act for
 " the union of the two kingdoms of England
 " and Scotland;" whereby it was enacted,
 " That the said acts of parliament of England
 " and Scotland, for securing their respective
 " churches; and the said articles of union;
 " should be, and continue, in all times coming,
 " the complete and entire union of the two
 " kingdoms:" so that the succession of the
 crown of Great Britain on the House of Hano-
 ver,

ver, was equally firm as the settlement of episcopacy in England, presbytery in Scotland, or as the union itself. To guard, and protect, this settlement of the crown of the united kingdom of Great Britain in the protestant line, an act of parliament, of the united kingdom, was passed in 1707, intituled, "An act for the security of her majesty's person, and government, and of the succession to the crown of Great Britain in the protestant line;" which was, in effect, only a repetition of other acts of the same tendency: so that all former provisions, of this nature, were now extended throughout the whole united kingdom; and all the notions of hereditary right, except that of Queen Anne, and the heirs of her body, and, in default of such issue, that of the Princess Sophia of Hanover, and the heirs of her body being protestants, were at an end: this the glorious æra of protestant liberty! this the sacred bulwark of protestant religion! and this the pale of the British law!

WHILE the exclusion of the pretender was thus transacting in England, Lewis XIV. was preparing to set him at the head of an expedition, for the reduction of Scotland: but this was delayed till 1708, and then all the formidable apparatus of war vanished into nothing: though the French had actually entered the Firth of Forth, and, had they landed, might probably have succeeded; because the Scotch were generally disgusted at the union, and a party, directed by the Dukes of Hamilton and Athol, were ready to join the pretender. France was incapable of equipping another force, to assist the pretender, though it would have been prosecuting her own cause, while she was pretending to espouse the interest of a miserable prince;

PART. prince; who, by the treaty of Utrecht, was
VII. abandoned to his own fortunes, and obliged to

quit the dominions of France: he then retired
1745. under the name of the Chevalier de St George,
to Lorrain, where the duke gave him a favourable
reception: here he received intelligence of
the death of Queen Anne, and of Lewis XIV.
he found it impossible to procure any assistance
from the duke regent of Orleans, he dreaded the
elevation of the House of Hanover to the British
throne, and this made him desirous of improving
the opportunity of increasing the domestic dis-
sentions in Britain, and of attempting to subvert
the protestant succession.

UPON the demise of Queen Anne, on the 1st
of August, 1714, the British crown descended to
George Lewis Elector of Hanover, as the son
and heir of Ernest Augustus, his late father, by
the Princess Sophia, then lately deceased, and
according to the hereditary right of succession,
as well as the parliamentary settlement of the
crown. This prince was in the fifty-fourth year
of his age when he ascended the British throne:
he was inaugurated with great acclamations of
joy; though he had the mortification to perceive
a virulent dissention among some of the principal
nobility, and a few marks of disaffection from
the populace, especially in Scotland. The Duke
of Ormond, and the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke,
had withdrawn into France, immediately on the
accession of the new monarch; who suspected
their attachment to the pretender, and had re-
jected their services: the Earl of Mar, who had
been secretary of state for Scotland in the pre-
ceding reign, was also disregarded by his ma-
jesty; and his resentment soon promoted several
secret agitations, both in England and Scotland,
for

for raising an insurrection in favour of the pre-CHAP.
tender; in which several of the nobility, and I.
other eminent persons, had associated themselves
in London, from whence a correspondence was 1745.
settled through the nation, amongst the disaf-
fected party, by gentlemen who pretended to
travel about for their pleasure.

IN August 1715, the design was ripe for
execution, when the Earl of Mar arrived at his
estate in Scotland; where, under pretence of a
grand hunting, he assembled some gentlemen,
and vassals, of his dependants, to whom he
opened his intentions, and found them ready to
adventure their lives in the enterprize. The
earl had now obtained a commission, from the
pretender, of lieutenant-general: he had aug-
mented his party with some of the nobility,
and other eminent men, whom he had got into
his measures, by continually encouraging and
inciting them with promises of dissolving the
union; by assurances that thousands were en-
gaged with him; by asserting that the Duke of
Ormond, and Lord Bolingbroke, were gone
over to France to engage the regent to assist
them with men, and money; and that they
would certainly land very soon, together with
the Duke of Berwick, at the head of a consider-
able force. The Duke of Athol had formerly pro-
mised to promote an insurrection in Scotland,
but he now avoided declaring himself, while he
sent the Marquis of Tullibardine, and two more
of his sons, with a considerable force to the Earl
of Mar; who was also joined by the Marquis of
Huntley; the Earl Mareschal, and the Earl of
Southesk; General Gordon; Lieutenant Gene-
ral Hamilton; Mac Donald of Glengary, Camp-
bell of Glenderule, Lyon of Auchterhouse, and

PART Blair of Ard-Blair : upon which the Earl of
VII. Mar, on the 9th of September, erected his

standard at Kirk Michael in Fife ; where he
1745. proclaimed the pretender, by the name of King
James VIII. The Earl of Mar then proceeded
to Perth, where he arrived on the 20th of Sep-
tember ; and, during his continuance there, he
was joined by Brigadier Mac-Intosh, the Earls
of Seaforth, Linlithgow, Winton, Panmure,
Nithisdale, Carnwarth, and Strathmore ; the Vis-
counts Kingston, Strathallan, and Stormont ; and
the Lords Kenmure, Drummond, Rollo, and
Nairn ; so that his army consisted of 8,000 foot,
and 2,000 horse. General Whetham, who com-
manded the troops of his majesty, had taken
post at Stirling, to secure that important post,
till the arrival of the Duke of Argyll, which
was impatiently expected, to oppose this gather-
ing mischief ; the Earl of Sutherland had also
assembled a considerable body of men for the
service of his majesty, in the north of Scotland ;
and the republic of Holland was to send 6,000
of the Dutch forces to assist the House of Han-
over ; which was imagined a sufficient force to
strangle this rebellious viper in its infancy.

BEFORE the Duke of Argyll could come to
any engagement with the rebels in Scotland ;
another insurrection broke out in Northumber-
land, which had been previously agreed upon
with the Earl of Mar, by such eminent pa-
pists and jacobites, as still implicitly adhered to
the pretender. The Earl of Derwentwater,
Lord Widdrington, and Mr Forster, were prin-
cipally entrusted with the conduct of this enter-
prize ; but some of their suspected accomplices,
in the other counties of England, being taken
into custody, the Earl of Derwentwater expected
warrants

warrants to be issued against him and Mr Forster; CHAP. I.
and this occasioned them to appear in arms on the 6th of October; which was much earlier than was originally intended: they had but an inconsiderable quantity of arms, so they entertained only horsemen, which were about 300; and after being defeated by Lord Scarborough, in their design of seizing Newcastle, they contented themselves with proclaiming the pretender in several places, till they received intelligence that the Earl of Mar had detached Brigadier Mac-Intosh, with a detachment of highlanders, to cross the Firth of Forth, to penetrate southward, and endeavour to join the Earl of Derwentwater: this occasioned that nobleman to march for Kelso in Scotland, which he entered without opposition; there he was joined by the Earl of Winton, Brigadier Mac-Intosh, and Lord Kenmure, when the whole force, being augmented by five Scotch troops of indifferent horse, six regiments of foot, and a considerable number of volunteers, consisted of 1,400 men. They continued at Kelso till the 25th of October, much divided in their councils, whether to advance further into Scotland, or proceed into England: at last the approach of General Carpenter, with a regiment of foot, and three regiments of dragoons, in the royal service, brought them to the resolution of advancing into Lancashire; which was immediately put into execution, though very much to the dissatisfaction of the Scotch. Their march was so expeditious, that they entered the town of Lancaster, on the 7th of November; having proclaimed the pretender, and seized the public money, in most of the principal places where they had been: they afterwards proceeded to Preston,

1745.

PART

VII.

1745.

Preston, which they entered on the 10th, where they were joined by a considerable number of papists. This was the final step of their incursion : for General Willes had been dispatched, by the government, with three regiments of horse, five of dragoons, and a regiment of foot, to oppose them ; and with this force, he passed Ribble-bridge, on the 12th, which the rebels had very imprudently abandoned ; though it was the only place where they could make an effectual defence. General Willes immediately invested Preston, which the rebels had fortified, in the best manner they were able, by barricading all the avenues : the town was warmly attacked, on the 13th of November, when the rebels repulsed the assailants ; but it was only a small respite : for General Willes was joined by General Carpenter, with three regiments of dragoons, on the 14th ; which occasioned Mr Forster, and the other rebel generals, to think of capitulating, when they agreed to surrender at discretion ; though highly contradictory to the sentiments of the highlanders, who were for sallying out to favour their escape, or to perish in the place, rather than submit to the capitulation. The prisoners were about 1,480, of which above 1,000 were Scotch : the principal officers taken among the English were, the Earl of Derwentwater, Lord Widdrington, General Forster, the Honourable Charles Ratcliffe, Esq; brother to the Earl of Derwentwater, Colonel Oxburgh, Colonel Townley, Sir Francis Anderton, and fourteen other gentlemen of eminence : the chief prisoners taken among the Scotch, were the Earls of Winton, Nithisdale, and Carnwarth ; the Viscount Kenmure, Lord Nairn, Lord Charles Murray son to the Duke of Athol, and Brigadier Mac-Intosh. The noble-
men

men were all conducted to the tower of London, and the inferior officers to other places of confinement, which terminated the insurrection in England.

CHAP.

I.

1745.

WHILE rebellion was scattering her scorpions in the bowels of England, Scotland was equally infested : but the Earl of Mar was no better successful than the Earl of Derwentwater. The Earl of Seaforth, with the commission of Lieutenant-General, had assembled above 4,000 rebels, in the northern part of the country, where he was opposed by the Earl of Sutherland, and Simon Fraser, afterwards Lord Lovat, who compelled the rebels to retire, and reduced all the northern coast to the obedience of the government ; for which Mr Fraser had afterwards a pension of 400*l.* a year, though, in the year 1745, he abused the royal munificence by assisting the rebels. The Earl of Mar was joined by the Earl of Seaforth, when their army amounted to 8,000 men ; with which they marched, on the 10th of November, from Perth to Auchterarder, with an intention to join General Gordon, who was expected with 2,000 men from the western clans ; this incited the Duke of Argyll to prevent any attempt of the rebels from crossing the Forth, by resolving to attack them, with only 2,500 foot, and 1,000 dragoons. The duke, on the 12th of November, took post at Dumblain, the metropolis of the shire of Menteith, situate five miles north of Stirling : this occasioned a general engagement, on the 13th, in a large plain, called Sheriff-moor : each party claimed the victory ; but though the battle was indecisive, it was of the greatest consequence to the royal party, as it obliged the Earl of Mar to abandon his design of marching southward, and gave

PART the duke leisure to wait for reinforcements. The

VII. The Earl of Mar retreated to Perth, and the
Duke of Argyll was joined by 6,000 Dutch :
1745. but though the pretender had landed, on the
22d of November, near Aberdeen, and had issued out several extraordinary proclamations, and an order for burning the country, the Duke Argyll was incapable of pursuing the Earl of Mar till the 31st of January, when he obliged the rebels to abandon Perth : he afterwards compelled them to quit Dundee, and retire to Montrose, where he found his labours at an end : for the pretender, finding himself closely pursued, was prevailed on to consult his safety by embarking on board a small vessel in the harbour ; which he did, on the 4th of February, and, with the Earls of Mar, and Melfort, and Lieutenant-General Sheldon, set sail for France. When the pretender had deserted his unfortunate adherents, they were conducted, by General Gordon, to Aberdeen, and on the 7th of January, proceeded to Strath-Spey, where they separated ; the inferior fort dispersed to their respective habitations, without receiving the punishment they had so justly incurred ; while the chiefs either found means to alleviate the resentment of the government, or to follow their image of royalty in his distress : though the Earl of Derwentwater, and the Viscount Kenmure, expired on the scaffold for their unhappy conduct. This was the entire suppression of such a dangerous commotion ; a commotion supported by those of the greatest figure, fortunes, and estates, in the northern part of Britain : but it was principally owing to the figure, fortunes, and estates, of the conspirators, that it was so easily suppressed ; because each would be independant,
each

each would be superior : their stations in civil life made them despise subordination in the military : hence arose contempt of discipline, disobedience to orders, distrust of equals, derision of commanders, neglect of duty, and, at last, desertion from service.

CHAP.

I.

1745.

THE pretender was now compelled to take up an asylum at Rome ; where Pope Clement XI. granted him an annual subsistence of 12,000 crowns : his hopes of assistance from Sweden terminated, in 1718, by the death of Charles XII. who was favourably disposed to his interest : his only dependance was fixed on the Court of Madrid, then provoked by the destruction of their fleet, by the British admiral, in the streights of Messina ; but though the Marquis of Tullibardine, with some other of his exiled adherents, and a small body of Spanish troops, landed at Kintail, in the shire of Ross, in April 1719, the whole project was disconcerted by their defeat at Glenshiels ; and, with the disgrace of Cardinal Alberoni, the pretender lost all his influence at the court of Spain.

BUT if this fugitive prince was unsuccessful in the pursuit of ambition, love soothed all the anguish of his despairing mind, by conducting to his bridal bed a princess worthy of an imperial throne. This lady was the daughter of Prince James Sobieski, and grand daughter of the great John Sobieski King of Poland ; she was cousin-german to the Emperor of Germany, and the Queen of Spain ; and niece to the Elector Palatine : she was married in 1719, and died in 1735 ; leaving her consort two young princes ; the elder named Charles-Francis-Edward, born on the 22d of December 1720 ; and the younger named Henry-Benedict, born on the

PART 6th of March 1725. The pretender, during
VII. his residence at Rome, dwelt in the palace of the
Marquis de Monti: he publicly professed the
1745. papal religion: he was treated with every external
appearance of royalty; his eldest son was
stiled Prince of Wales, and treated as the pre-
sumptive heir of a crown, by the pope, who
permitted him to take place of the cardinals;
and the younger son retained the imaginary title
of Duke of York. The education of these
young princes was intrusted to the care of the ti-
tular Earl of Dunbar, brother to the Viscount
Stormont; because he was a protestant: this was
done with a view of persuading the world that
the young princes were educated in that religion,
which could not fail of procuring them adhe-
rents in Britain, whenever there was an oppor-
tunity of reviving their pretensions: though
time has sufficiently convinced a deluded nation
of the turpitude of such an assertion, and evi-
dently proved, that both the pretender, and his
children, are still too strongly attached to the
see of Rome ever to relinquish their faith: but
surely such a security can never be embraced, or
depended on, till either all artifice, and bigot-
try, are departed from the Roman church, or
every degree of common sense from protestants;
though it has been long, it has been often ma-
nifested, from the perverse and obstinate attach-
ment of the Scotch adherents to this unfortu-
nate family, that no clemency could soften, no
chastisement subdue, their rooted principal of
hereditary right in the pretender, and their in-
flexible disaffection to the protestant succession,
and establishment, in Britain.



CHAPTER II.

The rise of the REBELLION ; and preparations, in SCOTLAND, to oppose it. The march of General COPE to INVERNESS: the surrender of EDINBURGH to the REBELS: the return of General COPE to DUNBAR: the battle of PRESTON-PANS, or GLADSMUIR: and the trial of SIR JOHN COPE.

OF all the miseries of war, those attendant on rebellion are the most to be dreaded, the most to be lamented: for in this baneful contention, countrymen shed the blood of their countrymen, children rise up against their fathers, and those of the same family are divided against each other; laws are silent, justice banished, violence unrestrained, and an hereditary enmity established amongst the survivors of the common calamity. The inhabitants of Britain now enjoyed more liberty than any, than all the nations of the earth ever enjoyed: every man had the unmo-
lest privilege of exercising his own religion; the established church was governed by men of learning, and moderation; the different sects of dissenters

CHAP.
II.

1745.

PART VII. dissenters had the full benefit of a legal toleration, especially in Scotland, where even the numerous class of nonjurors were indulged the same lenity, though their principles were wedded to the doctrine of indefeasible hereditary right, and though they did not pray in their assemblies for the preservation of that monarch who allowed them such ample privileges: the church was free from the factious cry of danger: private property was secured by public justice; the king defended the laws, and the subjects justly revered the prince: the illustrious House of Hanover promised a flourishing line of princes in the progeny of the Prince of Wales; and the whole royal family saw nothing but ardent, and active proofs, of popular love and confidence. This was a glorious system of national felicity; a system unparalleled throughout the universe! but though a change from this system implied a fall to final misery, and destruction; yet such was the antipathy of private faction to national prosperity, that the mine was ready to spring, and blast every scene of happiness.

CHARLES, the elder son of the pretender to the British throne, was now in the twenty-fifth year of his age: his person was tall, genteel, and graceful; his manners free, generous, affable, and engaging; and his spirit brave, active, and enterprising: he had the spirit of a Sobieski, without the timidity of a Steuart. Since the disappointment of the intended expedition from Brest, in 1744, the young prince was solely intent on raising an insurrection in Britain: the ambitious hopes of ascending so magnificent a throne, perpetually fired his heart; this was his whole meditation, and this he was determined to attempt. A strong party had been long forming

ing in his favour, among the discontented and disaffected chiefs of the northern parts of Scotland: an association was entered into, for this purpose, by Lord Lovat, and six others of the most eminent chiefs, in 1740, which was sent over to the pretender, with assurances of their attachment to his interest, and their alacrity for espousing his cause, as soon as the court of France should promote an invasion in his favour: the conspirators fully expected the French succours in 1743; and, though the scheme was then disconcerted, they continued their machinations, making the necessary appointments for putting their design into execution.

CHAP.

II.

1745.

BOTH the courts of Versailles and Madrid had promised the young pretender a sufficient force for an invasion, and his adherents in Scotland were continued in his interest by artful emissaries from France: but these succours were delayed; there was no immediate prospect of gratifying the impatient wishes of the young pretender; his disposition was too sanguine to wait the tardy resolutions of deliberate politicians; high were his expectations, and his confidence great, from the potency and affection of his Scotch adherents; and, hurried by the impetuosity of youth, he determined to adventure his person in the reduction of so great a monarchy without foreign assistance. The principal dependance of this young adventurer was upon the chiefs of the highland clans in Scotland, who were proprietors of the whole soil, had an absolute authority over their respective clans, and executed their pleasures over their dependents with every shew of unlimited tyranny: this would necessarily engage the people to follow their chiefs; especially as the common highlanders are but little removed

PART moved from the state of nature, having scarce
 VII. any idea of other liberty than that of ranging at
 large over their steril wilds, and following their
 chieftains to war in defence of their liberty, to
 1745. enlarge their bounds, execute their revenge, or
 pillage their more opulent neighbours. A fa-
 vourite conjuncture now offered for facilitating
 the design : his Britannic majesty was in Germa-
 ny ; the disaster at Fontenoy had withdrawn a
 considerable number of forces abroad ; and the
 troops in Scotland were too few to make any
 resistance : besides, from the poverty of the
 highlanders, and their resentment for the exe-
 cution of three soldiers belonging to the high-
 land regiment in 1743, a more extraordinary
 defection was to be suspected.

IMPATIENT of visiting Scotland, the young
 pretender was urgent to take this opportunity
 of embarking in his long projected expedition :
 Mr Walsh, an Irish merchant at St Maloes,
 strongly attached to his interest, procured him
 a frigate of eighteen guns, 900 stand of arms,
 800 broad-swords, and 2,000*l.* in money ; with
 which the young pretender embarked at Port-
 Lazare in Britany, attended by five servants, and
 seven of his exiled adherents, being the Mar-
 quis of Tullibardine, General Mac-Donald,
 Æneas Mac-Donald banker in Paris, Mr Kel-
 ly, Colonel Strickland, Sir Thomas Sheridan,
 Colonel Sullivan, and Roy Steuart. With this
 inconsiderable force, the young adventurer set
 sail, on the 14th of July 1745 ; but, off the
 height of Belleisle, he was joined by the Eliza-
 beth, a French man of war, of sixty-six guns,
 which the ministry had fitted out to attend, and
 convoy him in this expedition. As his design was
 to sail round Ireland, and land in the N. W.

of

of Scotland, the ships proceeded to the south-
ern coast of Ireland; but, in their passage, they were attacked, on the 20th, by the Lion
man of war, commanded by Capt. Brett; who, after a long engagement, disabled the Elizabeth, and obliged her to return to Brest; while the frigate escaped, and continued her course so expeditiously, that, on the 23d of July, the young pretender found himself among the western isles of Scotland, where he continued cruising, till the 26th, between the islands of Bara and South Vist: but finding there was no probability of being rejoined by the Elizabeth, the frigate, at last, stood in for the coast of Lochabyr, one of the maritime counties, in the N. W. of Scotland, principally inhabited by papists, and, on the 27th of July, landed the young pretender, with his companions, at Moidart, between the islands of Sky and Mull.

THE young pretender went immediately to the house of Mr Mac Donald of Kenloch Moidart; where he remained for some time, before he was in any condition to make a public appearance. The chiefs of the clans, affected to his service, continually resorted to him, paying him every mark of respect, and obedience; though they were greatly disappointed in the manner of his arrival, for they had been promised, and they expected, he would make a magnificent figure at the head of 16,000 of the best troops of France, well supplied with arms, money, and ammunition, to be safely transported, and landed, under the protection of a potent fleet. However, this did not discourage the clans from repairing to their expected leader; being still flattered by their chiefs, that the promised succours were at hand, and would certainly

PART tainly arrive before there was any occasion of
 VII. coming to action. Enemies of their country,
 however low and dead they may appear in times
 1745. of tranquility, revive, by the heat of war, like
 flies and noxious insects in the sun: the same
 principles, the same spirit, the same views, that
 begun, and carried on, the rebellion of 1715,
 was now appearing in the aspect of this rising
 insurrection; these were the principles of popery,
 and an absolute, indefeasible, hereditary right;
 a malignant persevering spirit to overthrow the
 protestant succession; and an attempt to put an
 abjured pretender on the British throne, as the
 tool of foreign powers, longing for, and aiming
 at, the destruction of the British trade, and consti-
 tution. The young pretender received many
 congratulations on his arrival; the principal
 leaders of the highland clans resorted to him
 with the strongest professions of their attachment
 to his service; and the highlanders were assem-
 bling, in the utmost secrecy, to prevent any
 molestation, till their numbers were sufficiently
 formidable to take the field: but though the
 disaffected clans were so numerous, all Scotland
 was far from sinking into such a defection from
 their allegiance; the southern and western pro-
 vinces, retained their fidelity, and some of the
 considerable highland powers, who had rebelled
 in 1715, and afterwards felt the clemency of
 the government, refused to embark again in so
 dangerous an enterprize; particularly Sir Alex-
 ander Mac-Donald of the Isles, and Lord Fortrose
 the son and heir of the attainted heir of Seaforth.

THE Marquis of Tullibardine now assumed
 the title of Duke of Athol, which, together with
 the noble patrimony, had been enjoyed by his
 next brother, since the death of his father: the
 majority

majority of the clan of Athol, consisting of 6,000 men, were secretly attached to the Marquis, whom they regarded as the true heir, and were also as well affected to the cause he embraced : Lord John Murray, the third brother of this illustrious family, at this time commanded the highland regiment in the service of the government ; but Lord George Murray, the fourth brother, touched with pity, and commiseration for his eldest brother, who had spent the best part of his life in exile, visited the Marquis of Tullibardine, and, by his influence, was drawn into the present rebellion, where he acted in the capacity of a lieutenant-general ; and his nephew Lord Nairn followed his example. James Drummond, Esq; commonly called the Duke of Perth, was the chief of the noble family of Drummond, and son to the late Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland, who followed the fortunes of King James II. and was by him created a Duke in France : this was a young nobleman of very amiable qualities, he was a strict roman catholic, had received his education at Doway, and, having never qualified, he regarded himself as not bound by those ties of allegiance which he considered as contrary to his principles : these motives had brought him to an early attachment to that family which he vainly conjectured might restore him to those hereditary titles, and honours, which his father had forfeited ; such principles hurried him into violent measures against the government ; he had early associated himself among the rebellious chiefs, he soon joined their standard, and perished a victim of mistaken loyalty : but his brother commonly called Lord John Drummond, though he was equally active, was unattended with the same misfortunes on the suppression of the rebellion, the latter escaping safely

PART VII. safely to France, while the former died in his passage. William Viscount Strathallan, and James Drummond, Esq; his eldest son; as well as Alexander Lord Forbes of Pittligo; David Lord Ogilvie, son to the Earl of Airley; and James Graham, titular Viscount of Dundee, acted upon the principles in which they had been educated: nor was David Lord Elcho, eldest son of James Earl of Wemyss, more culpable than the preceding. Arthur Lord Balmerino, was a descendant of the noble family of Elphinston; he had been educated in, and never deviated from, jacobite principles; and though he had commanded a company under the Duke of Argyll, in 1715, yet, after the battle of Dumblain, he resigned his commission, declared his enmity to the government, and joined the Earl of Mar: after which he resided at Rome, and now associated himself with the young pretender in his expedition. These noblemen were naturally enemies to the government, nor was their conduct at all surprising: but there were others whose behaviour was astonishing; men who had been careffed, and favoured, by the government; and such as could not well be apprehended for confederates in the destruction of their country: among these were George Earl of Cromartie, William Earl of Kilmarnock, and Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat; the first being highly in favour with the government, the second receiving a constant annual pension of 400*l.* from the crown, and the third was not only restored to the title he claimed of Lord Lovat, but had a pension of 400*l.* a year for life, and the government of Inverness: to these were added another unexpected instance of disloyalty in the person of Lord Lewis Gordon, second brother

brother to the Duke of Gordon, who had not CHAP.
only been educated in loyal principles, but had II.
even served as a lieutenant, under Admiral ~~~~~
Haddock, in the Mediterranean. These were 1745.
the most eminent persons, who particularly and
openly distinguished themselves as adherents to
the young pretender: though Alexander Earl of
Kellie was more secretly of their party, for which
he was afterwards attainted; nor was the Earl
of Traquair less suspected, which occasioned him
to undergo a tedious imprisonment. The prin-
cipal chiefs of the highland clans, who had as-
sociated themselves to promote the insurrection,
were Donald Cameron the younger of Lochiel,
with his brother Doctor Archibald Cameron;
Charles Steuart of Ardsbiel; Donald Mac-Do-
nald the younger of Clanronald; Alexander
Mac-Donald of Keppoch; Alexander Mac-Do-
nald of Glencoe; Laughlan Mac-Laughlan of
Castle Laughlan; Donald Mac-Donald of Loch-
garie; John Mac-Innon of Mac-Innon; Evan
Mac-Pheron of Clunie; Robertson of Strowan;
and Mac-Gregor of Glengary: among the other
part of the Scotch adherents those of the great-
est consequence were Sir William Gordon of
Park, Sir James Kinloch, Sir James Steuart,
and Sir John Wedderburn, Baronets; Wil-
liam Murray, Esq; brother to the Earl of
Dunmore, Robert Mercer of Aldie, John
Murray of Broughton, John Gordon the el-
der of Glenbucket, Archibald Mac-Donald of
Barisdale, Lawrence Oliphant the elder, and
Lawrence Oliphant the younger of Gask, Esqs;
with others of inferior note. Such were the prin-
cipal adherents to the young pretender, who had
either already devoted themselves to his interest,
or waited a promising opportunity of declaring
their sentiments with the remotest view of dan-

PART ger that could possibly be expected in so hazard-
VII. ous an enterprize : men whose minds, and con-

1745. sciences, were either infatuated by the barbarous
tenets of the papal religion, or were perpetually
intoxicated by ambition, pride, avarice, revenge,
or faction ; qualities all of them ungovernable ;
and which continually animate men, who are
enslaved by them, to break loose from all the
most sacred ties of reason, of religion, and of
sworn allegiance to their creator, their prince,
and their country : for to men of these disposi-
tions, it is no argument of loyalty, that every
thing is secured to them, which can make their
lives comfortable and easy ; that their property
stands upon the basis of the laws ; and that their
goods, and possessions, are protected from all
violence, and outrage : if their pride, and am-
bition, is unsatisfied ; if they are cut off from
every opportunity of enriching themselves and
their families ; rather than submit to be contented
with a moderate and easy fortune, when they
might be laying the foundation of distinguished
grandeur, and magnificence, they will endeavour
to disturb the order, and spoil the regularity of
things ; and if they are not allowed a share in
the conducting of it, they will contrive ways to
clog the wheels of government, and make it
drive heavily, if they cannot overturn it.

THE young pretender, and his adherents,
expeditiously assembled, and armed a considerable
number of the clans, well affected to his service :
these were the Mac-Donalds of Kinloch Moidart,
Keppoch, Glencoe, Glengary, and Clanronald,
the Camerons of Lochiel ; and the Steuarts of
Appin ; and 200 of the Athol men ; in all 2,120
men, under their respective chiefs. With this force,
the young pretender thought himself formidable
enough to take the field, and publicly avow
his

his pretensions: accordingly, on the 11th of CHAP.
 August, he erected his standard, with the mot- II.
 to *Tandem triumphans*: as he had procured 1745.
 the commission of generalissimo of the French
 troops, he next assumed the title of prince re-
 gent; and, on his public appearance, published
 two manifestoes in the name of his father; the
 one dated in 1743, when the former invasion
 was intended; and another, dated the 10th of
 August 1745, in which he declared his son re-
 gent for Scotland, with large promises of secur-
 ing the Scots in their rights and liberties, of
 dissolving the union, and repealing the malt
 duty. The rebels immediately formed an en-
 campment in the neighbourhood of Fort Willi-
 am, one of the three fortresses erected by Marshal
 Wade for the security and tranquility of the
 highlands, at Innerlochy in the county of Lo-
 chabyr, 100 miles N. W. of Edinburgh, and
 twenty-eight miles S. W. of Fort Augustus in
 the county of Inverness: the rebels continued in this
 encampment very quietly, though not unobserved
 by the garrison of Fort William; from whence two
 companies proceeded, under Capt. Scot, to recon-
 noitre the rebels, who intercepted, and took them
 prisoners, after a warm and obstinate engage-
 ment. This dawn of success animated the rebels,
 who now thought of nothing but advancing
 southwards; though the principal officers restrain-
 ed the present ardour of the men, judging it
 more prudential to defer penetrating into the
 southern provinces, till they had certain intelli-
 gence of the dispositions of the national troops,
 who were now assembling to oppose the invaders
 of their country.

THOUGH an insurrection was so obviously un-
 dertaken, and so evidently increasing; yet such
 were the artifices of the conspirators, and the

PART incredulity of the well affected inhabitants both
 VII. in England and Scotland, that it was looked

upon as fictitious by the one, and as ridiculous
 1745. by the other: notwithstanding the Duke of
 Argyll, who was then at Inverary in the county
 of Argyll, and Lord Glenorchy, had sent early
 and circumstantial accounts of the commotion
 to the government; which, if they were timely
 regarded, were not seasonably, or properly, at-
 tended to; at least not in such a manner as was
 either agreeable to the interest of the king, and
 the inclinations of his loyal subjects, or pre-
 judicial to the views of their intestine enemies.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL Sir John Cope, who was appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland in 1744, had now the entire direction of military affairs in that kingdom for the government; in consequence of which, on the first notice of an insurrection, he issued orders from Edinburgh for arming the militia; he assembled all the troops he was able, and took post at Stirling, thirty-miles N. W. of Edinburgh; where he lay very commodiously both for covering the northern metropolis, and preventing the march of the rebels southwards; as well as for receiving such reinforcements, as might enable him to stifle the kindling commotion before it blazed forth in all its violence. The force collected by Sir John Cope, consisted of the two regiments of foot commanded by Colonel Murray and Colonel Lascelles, and nine companies of the regiments of Brigadier Guise and Colonel Lee, in all about 1,400 men; with which the general was directed to leave the advantageous post of Stirling to the care of two regiments of dragoons, and advance towards the great road, called the Chain, which leads from Fort William to Fort George at Inverness,

sixty

sixty miles N. E. of Innerlochy. The principal motive for such an extraordinary march, was to intimidate the rebels from approaching towards the southern counties, and with a view of augmenting the royal army by the junction of some well affected clans; for which purpose the general ordered 1,000 stand of arms to be carried with the army, and then proceeded on the intended march. Sir John Cope, after a laborious march, arrived at Dalwhinny, on the 25th of August; where he had undoubted intelligence that the rebels were posted within seventeen miles of him, on, and in, Corryarick, an inaccessible pass, of seventeen different traverses, in the mountains: this occasioned a general council of war to be assembled on the 26th, when it was unanimously agreed, "That it would be utterly impracticable to force the rebels from their advantageous situation: that to return to Stirling was by no means adviseable; and that, from their scarcity of provisions, it was absolutely necessary to proceed to Inverness." These reasons prevailed on the general to avoid the rebels, and continue his march through Badenoch to Inverness; where the troops arrived, after an excessive fatigue; abandoning the whole south of Scotland to the mercy of the rebels, who did not fail to improve so unexpected an advantage. For, immediately, they entered the county of Athol; and, on the 2d of September, took possession of the castle of Blair, belonging to the Duke of Athol, twenty-eight miles N. W. of Perth: from thence the van-guard, consisting of 400 men, and conducted by Lord Nairn, proceeded to Perth, which they entered on the 4th; and immediately proclaimed the pretender, by new magistrates of their own appointment;

CHAP.

II.

1745:

PART the old ones, with the officers of the revenue,
 VII. and Hamilton's dragoons, having quitted the
 town on their approach: another detachment

1746. of the rebels entered Dundee, a maritime
 town in the county of Angus, situate on the
 north side of the Firth of Tay; where they also
 proclaimed the pretender, levied the public
 money, and seized a vessel in the harbour, which
 they carried, up the Firth, to their general ren-
 dezvous at Perth.

Not all the artifices of the rebel emissaries
 could any longer conceal the formidable design
 of their adherents, or continue the country in
 that lethargic disposition which had hitherto
 lulled the well-affected inhabitants, in a dream
 of security; the government again demanded
 of the States General the 6,000 men stipulated
 by treaty, for the defence of Britain; several
 troops were recalled from Flanders; and the
 whole nation was alarmed. The inhabitants of
 Edinburgh were ready to arm, and applied for
 the royal manual to raise a regiment for the
 defence of the town; but it came too late to be
 properly executed: at Glasgow a subscription was
 opened for volunteers, who came in so fast that
 there was not time to receive them; though, as
 they had not above 300 arms in the town, their
 loyalty bore but an inefficacious aspect: and the
 inhabitants of the southern counties, particularly
 Dumfries, were thoroughly sensible of the ap-
 proaching danger: the same spirit of loyalty as
 had been manifested against the Earl of Mar,
 in 1715, was, with proper encouragement and
 support, ready to have been exerted at this time;
 but every one was so over-prudent, that no one
 would take upon him to head the loyal volun-
 teers, without a warrant from the king, or re-
 gency:

gency : the magistrates of Edinburgh took very CHAP.
improvident measures for encouraging the ardour II.
of their fellow citizens, and the inhabitants of
the adjacent countries ; no arms were seasonably 1745.
distributed from the royal arsenal in the castle ;
the insurrection was still represented a trifle, and
the rebels as a contemptible mob, that would
be easily subdued : it was thought unnecessary
to appoint lieutenants, or raise the militia of
Scotland, because the 6,000 Dutch troops, and
the national forces, were reported as sufficient
to quell this spirit of disaffection : though, before
any formidable opposition appeared in behalf
of the government, the rebels pushed on with
a successful, and irresistible, rapidity.

THE young pretender, during his residence
at Perth, found his party considerably augment-
ed, both by the accession of several of the no-
bility and gentry, and the numbers they con-
ducted to reinforce his army, which now consist-
ed of 4,000 men ; the principal persons who
joined him here, being, the Duke of Perth ; the
Viscount Strathallan, and his son ; James Gra-
ham, of Duntroon, titular Viscount of Dundee ;
Lord John Murray ; Lord Nairn ; Sir William
Gordon of Park ; Sir James Kinloch ; Sir John
Wedderburn ; the two Oliphants of Gask ;
Mercer of Aldie ; and Hunter of Burnside.
With this additional force, and after exacting a
contribution of 500*l.* and seizing two hostages,
with the town charters, as a security for the pay-
ment of 500*l.* more, the young pretender de-
camped, on the 11th of September, from Perth :
his army marched, that day to Dumblain, in the
shire of Mentieth, twenty miles from Perth,
and five miles north of Stirling : on the 12th
they marched only, two miles, to Down ; and,

PART on the 13th, early in the morning, the main
 VII. body passed the Forth, at the fords of Frews,
 five miles above Stirling, the young pretender
 1745. being the first who took the water, and waded
 through at the head of his column; while they

sent a detachment, of 300 men, to amuse General Blakeney, who commanded the castle of Stirling: whereupon General Blakeney, to avoid being surrounded, retired with a part of the regiment of dragoons, commanded by Colonel Gardiner, to Falkirk, eight miles south of Stirling. The young pretender, immediately on passing the Forth, seemed inclinable to direct his march towards the city of Glasgow, in the shire of Clydesdale; twenty miles south of Stirling, and forty miles west of Edinburgh; where he sent a letter to the magistrates, requiring them to furnish him with 15,000*l.* besides what was due to the government, and whatever arms could be found in the city; threatening, that, if his demands were not complied with, he should take other measures, and they should be answerable for the consequence: however this no ways intimidated the loyal city of Glasgow; the magistrates refused to answer the demands; which obliged the pretender to take the resolution of returning to the east, in hopes of obtaining the possession of Edinburgh.

SINCE the march of Sir John Cope to Inverness, the citizens of Edinburgh had taken some precaution for their security: a voluntary subscription was opened for the raising of 1,000 men, authorized by his majesty, who appointed the lord provost, and magistrates, to raise, and command, the intended body: the town guard, which, by a privilege enjoyed by no other city in the British dominions, consists of three companies

panies of regular foot, maintained by, and only CHAP.
for the service of, the city, was considerably aug- II.
mented: the trained bands, consisting of sixteen
companies, were assembled: a regiment of vo- 1745.

lunteers was formed, by the principal inhabitants: the ancient and lofty stone walls, which surround the city on the east, south, and west sides, and also on part of the north side, were repaired in several places, and provided with cannon; barricades were erected at the eight ports, or gates, of the city; and every disposition was made, necessary for a vigorous defence; in which the city might have been assisted by the proximity of the regiments of dragoons; the regiment commanded by Colonel Archibald Hamilton being posted at Leith Links, two miles north of Edinburgh; and the regiment commanded by Colonel Gardiner, having advanced to Corstorphine, two miles west of the metropolis. Though the rebels were well acquainted with the situation of affairs at Edinburgh, they had reason to apprehend they should meet with an easy admission; nor were they at all disappointed: for, on the 16th of September, at night, the rebels arrived within the neighbourhood of Edinburgh; when the young pretender sent a letter to the magistrates, informing them that he was come to enter his beloved metropolis of Scotland, and desiring them peaceably to surrender up the city: upon which a deputation was sent out, to negotiate terms for the security of the inhabitants; and, at five o'clock the next morning, the city was unaccountably surrendered to the pretender, who made his entrance in a highland habit, at the head of 1,000 men: notwithstanding Brigadier-General Fowke had twice offered the Lord Provost to enter into the city, with
the

PART VII. the two regiments of dragoons, for its defence, which was refused; and though the Duke of Buccleugh, and Sir Robert Dickson of Carberry,

1745. sent some hundreds of their dependants for the same purpose: but all this was of no prevalence from preventing the peaceable surrender of the city, although the provost had received intelligence, that Sir John Cope, with his forces, had marched from Inverness to Aberdeen, where they took shipping, and were now landing at Dunbar, twenty-five miles east of Edinburgh. Archibald Steuart, Esq; the lord provost, and member of parliament for the city, was generally blamed, and soon after taken into custody, for this imprudent conduct; being seized at London, on the 30th of November, and committed to the tower; where he continued till the 23d of January 1747, when he was released, on entering into bail of 15,000*l.* for his appearance at the high court of judiciary in Scotland, on the 20th of March following: but though his trial came on, in July, the Lord Advocate dropped the prosecution, reserving a power of charging him, in case further evidence should be produced against him; since which the affair has been entirely dormant.

THE Lords of the Session, the Lord Justice Clerk, and the other members of the court of judicatory; as well as many other of the public officers, quitted the city; as also did the two regiments of dragoons, who proceeded to join Sir John Cope: but General Gueft, who commanded in the castle, with a strong garrison, as lieutenant-governor under the Lord Mark Kerr, took care to get all the arms belonging to the volunteers and irregular troops repositied in the castle, together with the treasure of the bank, and

and the best effects of the principal inhabitants ; CHAP.
where they were in no danger from the undisci- 11.
plined rebels, who had neither artillery, nor en-
gineers, sufficient to undertake the siege of such 1745.
an important citadel ; a fortress that long baffled
all the military skill of Cromwell, before he
could reduce it in 1650 ; and which also sustain-
ed a remarkable siege in 1688, when the Duke
of Gordon, through the persuasion of the Vis-
count Dundee, defended it against the revolu-
tional forces. The young pretender, and his
principal adherents, took up their residence in
the royal palace of Holyrood House ; founded
by King David I. for the regular canons of St
Augustine : the rebels, immediately, assembled
the heralds, and pursuivants, obliging them to
proclaim the pretender, which was done with
the greatest solemnity ; though the inhabitants
were unmolested, and permitted to exercise their
several occupations.

SIR JOHN COPE, when he arrived from In-
verness, at Aberdeen, intended to have landed
at Leith ; but, the westerly winds preventing
him from sailing up the Forth, he was obliged
to land at Dunbar, on the 16th of September,
where the men and artillery were put on shore
on the two following days. Scarce was the
disembarkment completed before the general
had intelligence of the surrender of Edinburgh ;
this was an astonishing event ; but, however, the
general, being immediately reinforced by Briga-
dier-General Fowke with the two regiments of
dragoons from Edinburgh, resolved to advance
forwards, and observe the disposition of the re-
bels, who had formed an encampment at Dud-
dington, a village two miles east of Edinburgh,
at the end of the royal park belonging to the
palace

palace of Holyrood House: to which the general was the more encouraged, in expectation that the citizens of Edinburgh, who had sent a remarkable address of loyalty to his majesty, would vindicate their suspected fidelity by assisting to expel the rebels on his appearance before the walls. The regular forces, under the command of Sir John Cope, consisted of the two regiments of dragoons, about 1,400 foot, and 200 of the loyal clan of Monroes from Inverness; in all, about 2,300 men: with which the general, on the 19th of September, marched from Dunbar towards Edinburgh; and, the same night, encamped upon the edge of Gladsmuir heath, near Haddington, within eighteen miles of Edinburgh; from whence, early the next morning, the army resumed its march for that metropolis.

THE acquisition of the capital of Scotland gave reputation to the arms of the young pretender, exhilarated the spirits of his associates, and occasioned a continual augmentation of their adherents, particularly by the Gordons, Mac-Innons, Grants, and Mac-Phersons, with their chiefs; besides some small bodies of horse under the Lords Pittligo, Elcho, and Balmerino; so that their whole body amounted to upwards of 5,000 men. The young pretender, on the same morning that General Cope left Haddington, put himself at the head of his army at Duddington, with a resolution to meet and bring the royal forces to an engagement; and, having drawn up his men, he presented his sword to them, saying, "My friends, I have flung away the scabbard:" this was answered by a chearful huzza; after which the rebels marched eastwards, and drew up on Carberry hill, about seven miles from Edinburgh; where they had intelligence that General Cope had fallen

len down into the low country, east of Preston-Pans; which occasioned them to direct their march along the brow of the hill, in expectation of discerning the royal forces. General Cope, on his march from Haddington, received frequent information that the rebels were expeditiously advancing towards him, with their whole body: therefore, as he found it impossible to reach the place of his intended encampment, he thought proper to chuse the first open ground he could arrive at; and, having conducted his men through some narrow defiles, the general drew up and posted his army upon Gladsmuir-heath, in an advantageous situation, between the little hamlets of Preston-Pans and Cockeney, about seven miles east of Edinburgh; having Seaton-house, belonging to the late Earl of Winton, at some distance on the left; Bankton, the seat of the brave Colonel Gardiner, and Grange, the seat of the Honourable James Erskine, Esq; brother to the late Earl of Mar, on the right; the Firth of Forth on their rear; and the village of Tranent in their front, which was likewise secured by a broad and deep ditch. General Cope, about two o'clock in the afternoon, had completed his disposition, and got his little army formed in excellent order; when the rebels appeared upon the high grounds, on the south boundery of the heath, to the right of the royal forces; which occasioned some reciprocal firing, and general huzzas: but nothing further was transacted, besides mutual evolutions, for obtaining the best advantages; the one to defend, and the other to attack, which the rebels intended to do early in the morning; and indeed they had a manifest superiority, because General Cope, in his march to Inverness, had sent all the swords belonging to the battalions to Stirling, to lighten

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1745.

lighten them in so laborious a march, apprehending such weapons to be of little service in competition with the bayonet: besides, though he had been reinforced by a considerable number of volunteers and militia, he did not think proper to make use of them, in the engagement, for fear they should disorder the regular forces.

GENERAL COPE was assisted by the loyal Earls of Loudon and Hume; Brigadier General Fowke; Colonel Gardiner; and Colonel Lascelles; who perceived, by the dispositions of the rebels towards evening, that they intended to outflank them, and cut off their retreat to Dunbar; which occasioned the general to concert the best disposition for the security of his troops, and to keep an extraordinary watch to prevent any surprize. On the 21st of September, about three in the morning, the rebels began to march eastward; then turning north, formed a line to prevent the retreat of General Cope through the eastern country; while another body of men was posted to provide against his stealing a march upon them towards Edinburgh; and then the main body, because it was thought impracticable to force the ditch at Tranent, marched hastily round by Seaton-house, and drew up in order of battle: the right wing of the first line, consisting of the battalions of Glengary, Clanronald, Keppoch, and Glenco, in all 1,100 men, being commanded by the Duke of Perth, as Lieutenant-General; and the left by Lieutenant-General Lord George Murray, consisting of the battalions of Lochiel, Perth, Appin, and Glenbucket, being 2,150: the second line, consisting of the battalions of Athol, Glenmoriston, Mac-Pherson, and Nairn, amounting to 1,600 men, was commanded by Lord Nairn; but they were

were not concerned in the engagement : so that CHAP.
the rebels, who were marching to the attack, II.
were only 3,750 men. The disposition for the
attack being made, about four o' clock, the 1745.
young pretender made a short, but animating,
speech, to his people ; and then conducted them
to begin the engagement : while General Cope,
whose patrols had given him information of
their motions, prepared to receive them by se-
curing his flanks with the dike of Tranent on
the right, and the left enclining to the sea :
the general also drew up his infantry in one line,
with a small body of reserve, placing the artille-
ry on the right, with a guard of 100 men ; the
whole properly supported by the dragoons. The
rebels advanced, with surprizing celerity ; and,
being at a small distance from the royal forces,
pulled off their bonnets, looked up to heaven,
made a short prayer, and then ran forward,
with incredible swiftness, to the engagement,
at the very dawn of day ; making their strongest
effort on the right of the royal army, where
the artillery was ineffectually posted. The re-
bels received a general discharge from the royal
forces, which killed several ; but advancing up,
they discharged, threw down their muskets, and
drawing their broad-swords, gave a most fright-
ful and hideous shout, rushing violently on the
100 men who guarded the royal artillery : this
was not unobserved by the Earl of Loudon, who,
acting as adjutant-general, ordered Lieutenant-
Colonel Whitney to wheel with the second squa-
dron of Gardiner's dragoons, and charge that
column of the rebels ; which the lieutenant-
colonel attempted to obey, bravely leading up
his men within pistol-shot, where they shame-
fully deserted him, and left the rebels in pos-
session

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session of the train of artillery ; who vigorously prosecuted their successful attack. All remedies, in every shape, were exerted by General Cope, Brigadier Fowke, Colonel Gardiner, the Earls of Loudon and Hume, and the officers about them, to regulate this disorder ; but in vain : neither the example, or entreaties, of their officers, could animate the dastardly dragoons to return to the charge ; the other body of dragoons joined in the flight ; they opprobriously fled, without wielding their swords, through the town of Preston ; whereby the infantry was left unsupported, and those brave men, who were ardently inclined to make a vigorous resistance, were treacherously abandoned, and surrounded by the rebels. The royal infantry, in this deplorable condition, gallantly maintained their post ; defending themselves with an obstinate bravery : the ground was to their wish, their disposition unexceptionable, they were fully formed, and nobly attempted to acquire the palm of victory. Colonel Gardiner, on the flight of the dragoons, dismounted, and heroically signaled himself at the head of the foot ; where he gloriously perished ; manifesting his detestation of the base pusillanimity of his men ; and shewing, to the world, that there was one Scotchman, who fell, in the cause of liberty, with the spirit of a Roman. The rebels pushed irresistibly on ; their broad-swords made a terrible destruction ; and the royal troops were obliged to give way ; though the regiment belonging to Colonel Lascelles, and particularly the two companies commanded by Major Severn, and Capt. Corbett, principally consisting of Salopian recruits, did every thing that was in the power of men to continue the engagement : but ineffectual were these

these efforts of loyal bravery; the highlanders were too numerous, too potent, for resistance: the royal army was broke, dispersed, and totally routed. The victorious highlanders cut many to pieces, in the confusion of the action; and, after satiating the thirst of blood, took most of the surviving infantry prisoners, in less than an hour after the commencement of the attack: but the success of the rebels was principally owing to the conduct of Mac-Donald of Keppoch, and Mac-Donald of Glengary, who were in the rebellion of 1715, were now appointed Colonels, and conducted the attack, as having a more perfect knowledge of the ground, and country, than any other of their party. This unfortunate engagement occasioned the diminution of the greatest part of the royal army; but General Cope, Brigadier Fowke, the Earls of Loudon and Hume, with Colonel Lascelles, and some other officers, joined the fugitive dragoons at Preston; and, keeping a body of about 450 of them together, made a leisurely retreat to North Berwick, seventeen miles east of Edinburgh, and about nine from the field of battle: about 400 of the royal forces were killed in the heat of the action, a great number miserably wounded, and the prisoners amounted to about 1,200 men: among the slain was the bravely loyal, and much regretted, Colonel Gardiner, who fell, covered with wounds, near the walls of his own garden; with three captains, and one ensign: among the wounded was Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, with several other officers; and among the prisoners were Colonel Wright, Major Bowles, two cornets, and a quarter-master of Hamilton's dragoons; a lieutenant, two cornets, and a quarter-master, besides the lieutenant.

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PART VII. *nant-colonel, of Gardiner's dragoons; Lieutenant-Colonel Halkett, Lieutenant-Colonel Clayton, and Lieutenant-Colonel Whiteford belonging to Cochran's marines who acted as a volunteer; Major Severn, Major Talbot, and Major Griffith master gunner of Edinburgh castle; twenty captains, twenty-four lieutenants, and twenty-nine ensigns: in all eighty-three officers, taken by the rebels, with all the train of artillery, baggage, tents, colours, and military chest containing 6,000*l.* a valuable acquisition for the young pretender; who, as he had only two captains, and thirty men killed, and eighty-three men wounded, made a triumphal entry into Edinburgh, which he re-entered on the 23d of September, carrying all the wounded prisoners, with the colours, and baggage, in procession through the city, guarded by the highlanders, and attended by all the bagpipes of the rebel army, playing their favourite air of *the king shall enjoy his own again*: the wounded prisoners were sent to the city infirmary; and the officers, who were not wounded, were conducted to Perth.*

THIS engagement was generally called the battle of Preston-Pans; by some the battle of Seaton; but stiled, more properly, by others, the battle of Gladsmuir, because that was the field of battle, being a wide barren heath, about seven miles east from Edinburgh. The consequences of this victory were highly advantageous to the young pretender; it gave an invigorated life to his adherents; it confirmed those who had already embarked in his interest; and it encouraged others who had politically neglected to declare in his favour. He was now absolute master of all Scotland, excepting the castles of
Edin-

Edinburgh and Stirling, Fort William, Fort Augustus, and Inverness: he began to assume the air of sovereignty, in his dress, attendance, and behaviour: large contributions were raised in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leith, and the adjacent countries: manifestoes were published, inciting the Scotch to crowd to his standard; wherein the dissolution of the union was promised, a regulation of the national debt, and the repealing of such laws as were contradictory to the inclinations of the Scotch: emissaries were employed to subvert the principles of loyal subjects; several received commissions empowering them to act as officers of France, to which many were prompted by the delusion that such commissions would entitle them to the benefit of the cartel of Francfort: great numbers of eminent persons now openly professed their attachment to the young pretender, and the rebels were continually increasing, till they became formidable enough to think of invading England.

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THE conduct of Sir John Cope was universally censured; he soon after arrived in London; and finding he had incurred the public odium, he requested an examination into his behaviour; because as no man whatever is above the censure of British subjects, while they think him culpable, this alone could vindicate his reputation, and wipe off those aspersions that maculated his character. Certainly the whole misfortune was owing to the timidity of the dragoons, both on the right and left, and in the corps of reserve; who deserted their officers, shamefully running away, and a great part of them without being so much as attacked; which communicated the panic to some of the infantry, and occasioned the general disorder much sooner than

PART could have been expected. As the discontent of
 VII. the nation was so popularly spread against the
 commanding officers, his majesty appointed a
 1745. board of general officers, consisting of Marshal
 Wade, Lord Cadogan, the Duke of Richmond,
 and the Lieutenant-Generals Folliot and Guise,
 to examine into the conduct of Sir John Cope,
 and Colonel Lascelles, from the breaking out of
 the rebellion, till the action was over at Preston-
 Pans; and likewise into the conduct of Brigadier
 General Fowke, from the time he took the
 command of the two regiments of dragoons at
 Edinburgh, till the determination of the battle:
 who, after several examinations, reported to his
 majesty, " THAT Sir John Cope had made all
 " the proper, and necessary, preparations, for
 " the support of the troops, both at Edinburgh
 " and Stirling. THAT his attacking the rebels
 " on the Corryarick, was impracticable. THAT
 " his march to Inverness was justified by the
 " unanimous opinion of the council of war, and
 " the repeated assurances of being joined by the
 " well-affected clans. THAT his passage to
 " Dunbar was the only measure he had left to
 " take. THAT the disposition of his body of
 " troops on the field of action was judicious,
 " and the ground, on which they were engaged,
 " appeared to have been well chosen: he did
 " his duty as an officer, both before, at, and
 " after, the action: that his personal behaviour
 " was without reproach; and that the misfor-
 " tune, on the day of action, was owing to the
 " shameful behaviour of the private men, and
 " not to any misconduct, or misbehaviour, of
 " Sir John Cope, or any of the officers under
 " his command. AND THAT, upon the whole,
 " they

“ they were unanimously of opinion, that the
“ behaviour of Sir John Cope had been un-
“ blameable; and that there was no ground for
“ accusation against him, Colonel Lascelles, or
“ Brigadeir Fowke.”



CHAPTER III.

The preparations taken by the government, and the inhabitants of ENGLAND, for suppressing the REBELLION: MARSHAL WADE at the head of the forces in YORKSHIRE; and ADMIRAL VERNON, at the head of the fleet for the security of SCOTLAND, and the eastern coast of ENGLAND, against the intended invasion of the FRENCH. The march of the REBELS into ENGLAND; their reduction of CARLISLE, and rout to DERBY.

TO enkindle a just zeal, and abhorrence, of CHAP.
rebellious practices, it is unnecessary to say III.
that they strike at the very foundations of go-
vernment; that they not only injure property, 1745.

PART but destroy it; not that they stop the execution of
 VII. the laws, but pluck them up by the roots, and
 obstruct the course of justice. A country thus

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divided affords nothing but melancholy representations, and scenes of blood, havoc, and desolation; with friends, neighbours, brethren, all at variance, and sheathing their swords in one anothers bowels: this is applicable to every country, to every intestine commotion; but how is horror accumulated upon horror, when discord takes her infectious step, and rebellion brandishes the impious sword, over a land of distinguished freedom, such a happy land as Britain! and how dismal the reflection, should success attend on such rapacious enemies; how great the disaster, if the bravest people in the world, accustomed to give law to others, and to be held in reverence by the surrounding nations, should fall the scorn and derision of their neighbours, by ignominiously filling up the triumph of an insolent conqueror; one who had been educated in a detestation of the protestant religion; a conqueror bred up in the tyrannical maxims of scandalous and corrupted courts, who neither love nor understand the liberties, and interest, of mankind! — What Englishman could think of this without indignation? Who could behold so terrible a prospect, and sit unconcerned? The preservation of their happy constitution, was a cause in which all degrees of people were interested; a cause that affected the poor as much as the rich, the peasant as well as the nobleman: for the labouring husbandman in Britain, is richer than a peer of France, in the enjoyment of his religion and liberties; no man can be so low as to be precluded from a right to the same privileges, and the protection of the same laws, with the highest peer: the rebellion, there-

therefore, did not alone endanger the right of this, CHAP. or that, particular person, but it was the proper right of every man that lay at stake; his right to act and think freely, and to serve his creator

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with a conscience void of restraint; a right to enjoy the product of his own toil; a right to secure what he had required, and to make what disposition he thought proper of his own. These were some of the inestimable privileges Englishmen have long enjoyed: these the blessings bequeathed to them by their forefathers; and which every man was bound to maintain at his utmost peril: this awakened the nation to a sense of danger; roused up the sons of loyalty to defend their prince, and their privileges, with their dearest blood; or die, rather than part with things more valuable than life itself.

His Britannic majesty was in his German dominions, when he received the first intelligence of the arrival of the young pretender in Scotland; which occasioned his immediate return to London, where he arrived, on the 31st of August, to the great satisfaction of all his faithful subjects, who knew how seasonable his royal presence was at this dangerous juncture. His majesty found that the lords of the regency had, on the 12th of August, issued a proclamation, with a reward, of 30,000*l.* for apprehending the young pretender; who, by an act passed in the last sessions of parliament, was adjudged to be guilty of high treason in case he landed, or attempted to land, in Great Britain, or Ireland: the regency had also sent arms for the militia in Scotland, and Ireland: but, at the first beginning of the rebellion, all intelligences of such an attempt were discredited, because it appeared too vain and audacious; however the king, the parliament, the whole

nation,

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nation, were now sensible of the increasing danger; the prince was anxious for the preservation of his people, and the people devoted to the service, and ardent for the safety, of their prince; the nation was roused from its inactivity, and testified, to the neighbouring countries, such a disposition of loyalty, as must give confidence to their friends, and strike their enemies with despair: the influence of the principal nobility extended through every rank of men, kindling an universal ardour against the disturbers of civil happiness; and, by this manifestation of allegiance, indolence was awakened, cowardice animated, avarice enlarged, and despondency conquered: for what ought not to be expected from a free and grateful nation, to a prince, so remarkably brave in his person, so just in his principles, so faithful an observer of public faith, so merciful to delinquents, and so strict an adherer to the laws of his country, that not an instance could be pointed out, during his whole reign, wherein he made the least attempt on the liberty, the property, or religion, of a single person? surely every testimonial of allegiance, and respect, should be shewn to a sovereign, who had always considered the law of the land, as the sure foundation of the prerogative of the crown, and the liberties of the subject.

THE rebellion soon wore too formidable an aspect to be disregarded; and orders were issued, immediately on the arrival of his majesty, for the return of three battalions of the foot guards, and seven regiments of foot, from Flanders; as well as the 6,000 troops demanded from the republic of Holland; which were all speedily expected in Britain. His majesty, on the 5th of September, received a congratulatory and loyal address

address from the lord mayor, and court of aldermen, of the city of London, on his safe arrival, and the reduction of Cape Breton, testifying, CHAP. III.

“ The sincerest assurance of their affection and zeal, for his royal person, and government; their steady and invariable attachment to their present most happy establishment in church, and state; and of their unshaken resolution to support and defend them, at the hazard of their lives, and fortunes.” Upon which occasion his majesty was pleased to confer the honour of knightwood upon Henry Marshal, Esq; the lord mayor, Samuel Pennant, Esq; one of the sheriffs, and John Bosworth, Esq; the chamberlain. The court of lieutenancy presented a similar address, on the 9th of September; “ Renewing their assurances to his majesty, that they would fully execute the powers intrusted with them, by having the militia of London always in readiness;” when Thomas Haukey, Esq; one of the commissioners, was knighted. On the 11th, the merchants of London went in a solemn cavalcade, of 160 coaches, to Kensington, and presented a loyal and dutiful address to his majesty, “ Assuring him, that they would continue to exert their utmost endeavours for the support of the public credit of the kingdom.” Bristol, Rochester, the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Portsmouth, and other places, presented similar addresses; and nothing but the strongest professions of zeal, and fidelity, attended the court. 1745.

On the 13th of September, a grand council was held, by his majesty, at Kensington; to which several general officers were summoned for their opinions of what was necessary to be transacted: in consequence of which, letters were immediate-

PART. ly issued to the lords lieutenants, and custodes

VII. rotulorum, of the respective counties, of England

and Wales, to raise the militia. An order was

1745. issued for the militia of Westminster to hold

themselves in readiness, and the regiment of

Switzers, which in the preceding year entered

voluntarily to serve his majesty in case of an in-

vasion, were summoned to attend their colonel.

A proclamation was issued, on the 14th of Sep-

tember, by Marshal Stair, commander in chief of

the forces in South Britain, declaring, "That any

" man, who should voluntarily engage in the roy-

" al army, should be discharged from the service

" at the end of two years." Many of the prin-

cipal nobility, and several of the eminent gentle-

men, offered their service to his majesty, for rais-

ing regiments in their respective counties; when

commissions were issued to the Dukes of Montagu,

and Kingston, for raising two regiments of light

horse, the former in Northamptonshire, and the

latter in Nottinghamshire; and thirteen other

commissions were issued for raising so many regi-

ments of foot, of 1,000 men each, of which the

Duke of Bedford, who had been lately appoint-

ed lord lieutenant of the county of Bedford, rais-

ed one in London, and Bedfordshire; the Duke

of Bolton one in Hampshire; the Duke of Mon-

tagu one in Northamptonshire; the Duke of

Ancafter one in Lincolnshire; the Marquis of

Granby, eldest son to the Duke of Rutland, one

in Leicestershire; the Earl of Halifax one in

Northampton; the Earl of Berkeley one in Glou-

cestershire; the Earl of Cholmondeley one in

Cheshire; Lord Viscount Falmouth, and the

Earl of Edgecombe, each of them one in Corn-

wall; Lord Viscount Harcourt one in Oxford-

shire; Lord Gower one in Staffordshire; and Lord

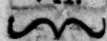
Her-

Herbert one in Shropshire. The inferior inhabitants of the different counties were mutually active: but nothing could equal the remarkable zeal of the county of York, which, animated by the archbishop, led the way, by a noble association of the nobility, gentry, and clergy, for their mutual defence, which was cheerfully signed, on the 24th of September, at the castle of York; when the subscription amounted to 40,000*l*: in consequence of which forty-four companies were raised in the county; besides a regiment of gentlemen volunteers, who formed an excellent body of light cavalry, appeared in an uniform dress, stiled themselves the Royal Hunters, and put themselves under the command of General Oglethorpe, as an officer the most accomplished, and meritorious, to appear at the head of so considerable a body of selected gentlemen. The nobility, and gentry, of Cheshire, associated to raise a body of 2,500 men; in which the ever memorable and worthy Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, and Sir Robert Grosvenor, distinguished themselves by large subscriptions: the Earl of Halifax shone brightly in the sphere of loyalty: Lancashire, Norfolk, and Bristol, put on the same appearance of allegiance; which extended itself over the whole kingdom. Nor were the reverend fathers of the church unconcerned spectators of a storm, which equally threatened religion, and liberty: several of the bishops, by circular letters to the clergy of their respective dioceses, reminded them, "Of the importance of discharging their duty, at this time; by representing, to their congregations, the errors, and mischief, of popery; and awaking in the friends of the government, a just concern for their happy constitution:" and many animating discourses, and

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and pathetic exhortations, were delivered by the most eminent preachers, both of the established church and amongst the dissenters. The merchants of London, not only proposed to raise two regiments at their own expence; but, as there happened an extraordinary run on the bank of England, they readily came to an agreement for supporting the public credit, "Declaring that they would not refuse to receive bank notes in payment of any sum of money to be paid to them; and that they would use their utmost endeavours to make all their payments in the same manner:" this agreement was immediately signed by 1,140 of the most eminent merchants, considerable tradesmen, and proprietors of the public funds; which prevented the general call on the bank, and disappointed the collusive designs of the national enemies.

THE parliament met, on the 16th of October; when his majesty went to the house, and delivered the following speech from the throne:

" My Lords, and Gentlemen,

" THE open and unnatural rebellion, which has broke out, and is still continuing, in Scotland, has obliged me to call you together sooner than I intended; and I shall lay nothing before you at present, but what immediately relates to our security at home, reserving all other considerations to a farther opportunity. So wicked and daring an attempt, in favour of a popish pretender to my crown, headed by his eldest son, carried on by numbers of traitorous and desperate persons within the kingdom, and encouraged by my enemies abroad, requires the immediate advice, and assistance of my parliament, to suppress and extinguish
" it,

“ it. The duty and affection for me, and my
“ government, and the vigilant and zealous care
“ for the safety of the nation, which have with
“ so much unanimity been shewn by my faith-
“ ful subjects, give me the firmest assurance, that
“ you are met together resolved to act with a
“ spirit becoming a time of common danger,
“ and with such vigour, as will end in the con-
“ fusion of all those, who have engaged in, or
“ fomented, this rebellion.

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“ I HAVE, throughout the whole course of
“ my reign, made the laws of the land the rule
“ of my government, and the preservation of
“ the constitution in church and state, and the
“ rights of my people, the main end and aim of
“ all my actions. It is therefore the more asto-
“ nishing, that any of my protestant subjects,
“ who have known and enjoyed the benefits re-
“ sulting from thence, and have heard of the im-
“ minent dangers these kingdoms were wonder-
“ fully delivered from, by the happy revolution,
“ should, by any arts and management, be delud-
“ ed into measures, that must, at once, destroy
“ their religion and liberties, introduce popery
“ and arbitrary power, and subject them to a
“ foreign yoke.

“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons,
“ I RELY on your affection to me, and your
“ care and concern for our common safety, to
“ grant me such a supply, as may enable me en-
“ tirely to extinguish this rebellion, effectually to
“ discourage any foreign power from assisting the
“ rebels, and to restore the peace of the king-
“ dom; for which purpose I will order the pro-
“ per estimates to be laid before you. Amongst
“ the many ill consequences of this wicked at-
“ tempt, the extraordinary burthen, which it

“ must

PART " must bring upon my faithful subjects, very sen-
 VII. " sibly affects me. But let those answer for it,
 " whose treason has occasioned it, and my peo-
 1745. " ple be convinced what they owe to those dis-
 " turbors of our peace, who are endeavouring to
 " make this kingdom a scene of blood and con-
 " fusion.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" THE many evident proofs this parliament
 " has given of their duty, fidelity, and affection
 " to me, and of their steady adherence to the
 " present happy establishment, and the true in-
 " terest of their country, make me repose myself
 " entirely on the zeal and vigour of your pro-
 " ceedings and resolutions. I am confident you
 " will act like men, who consider that every
 " thing dear and valuable to them is attacked;
 " and I question not, but, by the blessing of
 " God, we shall, in a short time, see this rebelli-
 " on end, not only in restoring the tranquility
 " of my government, but in procuring greater
 " strength to that excellent constitution, which
 " it was designed to subvert. The maxims of
 " this constitution shall ever be the rules of my
 " conduct. The interest of me and my people
 " is always the same, and inseparable. In this
 " common interest let us unite; and all those,
 " who shall heartily and vigorously exert them-
 " selves in this just and national cause, may al-
 " ways depend on my protection and favour."

BOTH houses returned the most dutiful and
 zealous addresses to his majesty: so that the whole
 southern part of the united kingdom were pre-
 paring for defence; a general sense of the na-
 tional danger, had diffused itself through every
 rank of people, and united them, as one man, to
 repel

repel the common calamity. Nothing among the ancient Greeks and Romans was esteemed a greater act of piety, than to fight for the good of the community; and they who have gloriously perished in so righteous a cause, are embalmed with immortal honours: if the virtue of war consists in arming for the public tranquility; if it is pious to gird on the sword in defence of wives, and children; if it is incumbent on a man to fight for his parents, and friends; if it is just to defend religion, and property: how noble, how commendable, was this spirit of loyalty, now breathing from the soul of every honest Englishman, of every faithful Scotchman? glorious the act, illustrious the example!

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ON the 24th of September, the British forces, ordered from Flanders, arrived at Gravesend, Grays, and Blackwall; consisting of the three battalions of foot guards, and seven regiments of foot, under the direction of the Earl of Albemarle: and the Dutch forces also arrived, under the command of Count Maurice of Nassau; which, together with some troops lately recalled from Ireland, and some squadrons of horse and dragoons, were ordered to form a camp in the north of England, under the command of Marshal Wade. Some of these troops were assembling in Yorkshire, while the Dutch troops, and the forces from Flanders, were sent, by sea, to Newcastle, Berwick upon Tweed, and Holy Island, six miles south of Berwick, in Northumberland; where they safely arrived, and were ordered to rendezvous at Newcastle, while the rest of the army was assembling at Doncaster, thirty miles south of York. Marshal Wade, on the 9th of October, arrived at Doncaster: he continued there till the 21st, and then proceeded

PART to Newcastle, where he arrived on the 29th;

VII. when he found his army consisted of his own regiment of horse, and the Queen's regiment
 1745. commanded by the Duke of Montagu; St

George's dragoons, and the new raised corps of Yorkshire Royal Hunters: the infantry being the regiment of Colonel Thomas Howard, with those of Barrel, Wolfe, Pulteney, Blakeney, Cholmondeley, Fleming, Monro, Battereau, and the second battalion of the Royal Scots; besides the Dutch regiments of Holstein-Gottorp, Villates, Brackell, Paitot, de la Roque, and Hizzell's three battalions of Swiss: the whole amounting to 14,000 men, attended with a train of artillery of twenty field pieces; in the command of which the marshal was assisted by Count Maurice of Nassau; the Lieutenant-Generals Lord Tyrawley, and Wentworth; the Major-Generals Oglethorpe, Howard, and Huske; and the Brigadier-Generals Mordaunt, and Cholmondeley. The inclemency of the season, and the fatigues that the English veterans had undergone in the campaign in the Netherlands, occasioned a general indisposition, and a great mortality among the men: this obliged the marshal to continue at Newcastle, either till he received positive orders from the government for marching into Scotland, or till the motions of the rebels threatened the invasion of England: and he therefore contented himself with publishing a proclamation, on the 30th of October, "Pro-
 " mising a general pardon to all such of the re-
 " bels as should return to their habitations, on,
 " or before, the 12th of November following,
 " and become faithful to his majesty and his
 " government:" but this act of clemency was entirely disregarded.

THE Dutch troops were of no significance, CHAP.
because they were the very men who had com- III.
posed a part of the garrisons of Tournay and
Dendermond; and, by the capitulations, were 1745.

restrained from performing any military duty, for a much longer time than was hitherto expired: the French ambassador had made remonstrances, on this head, to the States General; and, as it was justly apprehended that their high mightinesses would rather recal their forces, than incur the resentment of France, this made it necessary for the British government to recal another body of troops from Flanders, consisting of eight battallions and nine squadrons, for the defence and security of the country; which was accordingly done, by an order sent to the Duke of Cumberland for that purpose, who soon after made his arrival in London.

THE British government were strongly apprehensive that the French intended to make an embarkation in favour of the young pretender, which made it necessary to collect a proper fleet, both on the eastern and western coasts, under the command of an experienced admiral, to watch their motions from Brest to Dunkirk. This important command was entrusted to Admiral Vernon, the most vigilant officer for such a material purpose; who commanded a fifty gun ship, under Admiral Byng, when the pretender attempted a descent in Scotland in the year 1708; and who was thoroughly acquainted with all the coast of Scotland, and the adjacent coast of France. Admiral Vernon accepted the command for the preservation of his country, though he was sensible it would be disagreeable to him: he was ordered to the Downs to assemble the capital ships, for the security of the eastern

PART VII. coast; while Vice-Admiral Martin commanded a squadron, of smaller ships, on the western coast: which was contradictory to the opinion of Admiral Vernon, who informed the lords of the admiralty, "That a strong squadron kept at sea to the westward, and a squadron of smaller ships in the north seas, were the only secure guardians against invasions: but he could never be of opinion, that the three decked ships should be employed to form the squadron in the north seas, or that any larger than a seventy gun ship should ever be employed in that service; though he thought a sixty gun ship would be big enough; these large ships appearing, to him, useless for such services, as there were no harbours to shelter them in to the northward till they came to Edinburgh Frith or Cromartie, and not drift enough for them in such narrow seas; whereas they had Plymouth, and Portsmouth, for shelter to the westward, and many fine harbours in Ireland, with an open sea, for such large bodies to have sufficient sea room to drive in:" the lords of the admiralty were soon satisfied of the propriety of this opinion, and afterwards ordered all the three decked ships to Spithead. Admiral Vernon apprehended that the French and Spaniards would be capable of forming a fleet, of twenty ships of the line, from Brest, Rochfort, and Ferrol; which occasioned orders to be sent to Vice-Admiral Martin to watch their motions, and attend the security of the channel: while Admiral Vernon sent his small cruizers off Calais, Dunkirk, Boulogne, and Ostend, who diligently observed what was acting in these parts. The French had several small vessels, and a great number of troops,

troops, ready for an embarkation; which Ad-
miral Vernon suspected they would accomplish,
by escaping the observation of his cruizers, and
pushing for the Firth of Forth, or Cromartie:
this occasioned the admiral to send Rear-Admiral Byng, son of the late Lord Torrington, with three ships of fifty guns, two of forty, one of twenty, and two sloops, to the eastern coast of Scotland; who sailed from the Downs, on the 10th of September, and soon after arrived in the road of Leith; but it was not long before the lords of the admiralty ordered back the rear-admiral to the Downs, which left the whole coast of Scotland open for supplying the rebels with men, ammunition, and stores, in small vessels from France: though the lords of the admiralty were immediately convinced of the necessity of having a proper number of cruising ships stationed on the eastern coast of Scotland, for intercepting any clean running vessels to the rebels from getting into Edinburgh Firth, where they might well be expected, while they had Leith in their possession; upon which Rear-Admiral Byng was re-ordered to the coast of Scotland, where he prudently executed his command in preventing the arrival of succours to the rebels: while Admiral Vernon made such admirable dispositions, with his cruizers, as to gain intelligence of every thing the French were undertaking for an embarkation; and also to give the greatest security to the coast of Kent, part of Essex, and all the Suffolk coast; which not only retarded any destined invasion, to the general satisfaction of the public; but honoured the vigilant admiral with the approbation of his royal master, the most pleasing reward to a faithful subject. At this time Vice-Admiral Mar-

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tin acted with a squadron, as commander in chief in the Soundings, with which he was ordered to cruize between the Lizard and Cape Clear; Admiral Steuart commanded, with six capital ships, at Spithead; Commodore Mostyn commanded eight ships of the line, at Plymouth; and 200 gunners, bombardiers, and matrosses, were sent from Woolwich, with a large train of artillery, for the forts and castles in the west of England; so that the whole kingdoms of Great Britain, and Ireland, were properly protected from any invasions, either from the coast of Britany, Normandy, or Picardy.

SUCH were the preparations taken by the government for suppressing this dangerous rebellion, which was perpetually increasing in a more formidable manner. The young pretender, after the battle of Gladsmuir, was disappointed in his vain attempt on the castle of Edinburgh, by the prudence of General Gueft, and the vigilance of General Preston; and as Marshal Wade was assembling an army in the north, this made the rebellious chiefs to think of penetrating into England: they had been incited to this adventurous step by the assurances, of the superior officers, that the French monarch would send 12,000 men to make an invasion in Kent, under the pretender's younger son Henry; and also 6,000 to land in Scotland, under the earl marshal; that the Breft Squadron was ready to conduct this army; and that a considerable insurrection would immediately appear in the north, and several other parts, of England: therefore the inferior rebels, though much against their inclinations, were encouraged to try the success of their arms in England. His late gleam of success induced the more secret adherents of the
young

young pretender to repair to his standard, and among them were the Earls of Kilmarnock and Kellie; the Lords Elcho, Ogilvie, and Pittligo; with Gordon of Glenbucket, Mac-Innon of Mac-Innon, and Mac-Pherfon of Clunie; but Sir Hector Maclean had been apprehended, and confined in Newgate: notwithstanding the vigilance of the British cruizers, the rebels received 14,000 stand of arms, and 80,000*l.* in money, by the arrival of two French vessels at Stone Hyve; by one at Donotyr, in the county of Merns; and by another at Montrose, in the county of Angus; though the St Zirioco, a Spanish ship, of sixteen guns and sixty men, was intercepted and taken by the Trial privateer of Bristol, with 2,500 muskets, as many bayonets, 100 barrels of powder, 150 quintals of musketballs, boxes of horseshoes, and flints, with 24,000 dollars, and carried into Bristol. The rebels raised about 1,500 men in Edinburgh, and were considerably augmented from the highlands; they were all formed into regular battalions, and consisted of the following numbers:

C L A N S.

Regiments.	Colonels.	Numbers.
Lochiel	Cameron of Lochiel	700
Appin	Steuart of Ardsfield	200
Clanronald	M ^c Donald of Clanronald	300
Keppoch	M ^c Donald of Keppoch	200
Kinloch	M ^c Donald of Kinloch Moidart	100
Glenco	M ^c Donald of Glenco	120
M ^c Innon	M ^c Innon of M ^c Innon	120
M ^c Pherfon	M ^c Pherfon of Clunie	300
Glengary	M ^c Donald of Glengary	300
Glenbucket	Gordon of Glenbucket	300

150 *The Conduct of the Powers of Europe,*

PART Regiments. Colonels. Numbers.

VII. McLaughlan McLaughlan of that Ilk 200

Strowan Robertson of Strowan 200

1745. Glenmoriston Grant of Glenmoriston 100

L O W L A N D E R S.

Regiments. Colonels. Numbers.

Athol Lord George Murray 600

Ogilvie Lord Ogilvie, Angus men 900

Perth Duke of Perth 700

Nairn Lord Nairn 200

Edinburgh Roy Steuart 450

H O R S E.

Colonels. Numbers.

Lord Elcho and Lord Balmerino 120

Lord Pittligo 80

Earl of Kilmarnock 60

THE whole number of the rebels amounted to 5,990 foot, and 260 horse; the corps commanded by Lord Elcho, and Lord Balmerino, was composed by private gentlemen, from different counties, who were stiled the Life-Guards of their pretended prince, and were uniformly clothed in blue, faced with red, with scarlet waistcoats laced with gold; the corps commanded by Lord Pittligo was also composed of private gentlemen, uniformly accoutred; but the corps under the Earl of Kilmarnock consisted of inferior persons indifferently clothed, and principally in the highland dress; about 2,000 of the clans were, each of them, well armed, with a broad-sword, target, musket, and dirk; but the others were not so properly accoutred, and above 1,600 had only guns: they had fifteen pieces of cannon, of three or four pounders, and one mortar; a great number of bagpipes; and were commanded by the Duke of Perth as General

ral in chief, who had under him Lord George Murray, as Lieutenant-General, Lord Elcho and Lord Balmerino as Colonels of the Life-Guards, the Earl of Kilmarnock as Colonel of Hussars, and Lord Pittligo as Colonel of the Perthshire horse: but though, in regard to their interests, these gentlemen were honoured with those commands, yet they had little prevalence in the chief direction of affairs; for Cardinal Tencin had sent Mr Boyer, one of his emissaries, to superintend their councils, who assumed the title of the Marquis de St Guilles, and acted the part of the French ambassador; besides the young pretender, had, at the head of his council, Sir Thomas Sheridan, a gentleman of capacity; Colonel Sullivan, who had been trained up in a military life under Marshal Maillebois, was somewhat of an engineer, and perfectly understood the method of irregular war; and General Mac-Donald, his aid de camp; all three Irishmen; and to these were joined Mr Kelly, formerly secretary to the Bishop of Rochester; with John Murray, Esq; of Broughton, who acted all along as secretary to the young pretender.

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As the rebels were for penetrating into England, they formed a camp, between Inverask and Dalkeith, about four miles south of Edinburgh; they collected all the public revenue; seized on what horses, and carriages, they could find; and after a general review, between Leith and Edinburgh, on the 22d of October, the whole army entered the camp at Dalkeith on the 30th; where the necessary dispositions were concerted for marching to Carlisle, the capital of Cumberland, seventy miles south east of Edinburgh. On the 1st of November the rebels set out, from their camp, in three divisions; the first column,

PART led by the young pretender, directed its rout by
 VII. Peebles, the capital of the shire of Tweedale; the
 center column, led by the Duke of Perth, directed
 1745. its march through Lauderdale; and the third
 column, led by the Earl of Kilmarnock, advanced,
 through the county of Mers, by Kelso, into
 Tiviotdale: with orders to rendezvous, and effect
 a junction, in the neighbourhood of Carlisle;
 where they were assembling on the 8th of November:
 but before they proceeded into Lancashire, it was agreed
 to summon the city, which was invested on the 9th at night.

CARLISLE is situate near the mouth of the river Eden and Solway Firth, 230 miles north west from London, and fifty miles south west of Newcastle; it was formerly a strong fortification, and considered as a bulwark against the Scots; though it was greatly decayed from its primitive strength: however the castle was still a considerable fortress, where Colonel Durand commanded with seventy invalids; and the city was defended by the whole militia of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, which either were, or ought to have been, 700 men: so that when the young pretender summoned them, on the 10th of November, they absolutely refused to surrender up the place; upon which the rebels filed off towards Brampton, where a council was held, when it was agreed to return, and besiege the city, which they expected their very appearance would have intimidated to surrender. For this end the rebels employed the 11th and 12th in refreshing their men, and in cutting down wood, in Corby and Warwick parks, for scaling ladders, fascines, and carriages; and, on the 13th about three in the afternoon, they returned before Carlisle; from whence the garrison began

to fire upon them. On the 14th, it was discovered that the rebels had thrown up a trench, and were begining to erect a battery; which intimidated the town, and, in a consultation, it was resolved to capitulate: whereupon a deputation was sent to the young pretender at Brampton, and the town was agreed to be delivered up, on condition that the garrison should have their liberty, and retire where they pleased, after taking an oath never to appear in arms any more against the rebels. This capitulation was contrary to the opinion, and protestation, of Colonel Durand; who endeavoured to defend the castle, but was obliged to abandon it for want of men; though not till after he had nailed up ten pieces of cannon on the ramparts. The city was accordingly delivered up, on the 15th of November, to the Duke of Perth, who immediately caused the pretender to be proclaimed; and, on the 19th, the young pretender made his public entry, under a general salvo of the artillery. The reduction of this important city gave new hopes to the rebels; they found 1,000 stand of arms in the castle, besides the valuable effects which the neighbouring gentlemen, and principal inhabitants, had deposited there, as a place of security; they had now a place of retreat; and the Duke of Perth was appointed governor.

As soon as Marshal Wade, who was still posted at Newcastle, had intelligence of the rout which the rebels had taken, on their advancing into England; he ordered Lieutenant-General Handasyde, who commanded the troops that had escaped from the battle of Gladsmuir, and continued still at North Berwick, to advance with the dragoons to Wooller, and observe the motions of the rebels; and Lieutenant-General

Han-

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PART Handasyde, on receiving a confirmation of their
 VII. having abandoned Edinburgh, immediately set
 out with his troops, and repossessed the city.

1745. Marshal Wade was sensible of the activity of the government, in assembling another army in the south of England; he, therefore, never studied to interrupt the approach of the rebels, nor to intercept them in their march; imagining they would proceed immediately into Lancashire, where they must hazard a battle with the other forces returned from Flanders; or, if they retreated, would be followed by him, and then be inclosed between two fires: but when the marshal understood that the rebels were forming the siege of Carlisle, he summoned a council of war, on the 15th of November; wherein it was determined to march the next morning, by Hexham, to the relief of Carlisle, and to give battle to the rebels: the army, accordingly, set out, and arrived at Hexham, sixteen miles west of Newcastle, on the 17th at midnight, after a laborious march, in which the Major-Generals Oglethorpe and Howard, and the Brigadiers Cholmondeley and Mordaunt, marched on foot at the head of the infantry, to encourage the soldiers; but the marshal receiving advice as well of the surrender of Carlisle, as of the preparations for the march of the rebels into Lancashire; and finding the roads, through the great quantity of snow that had fallen, in a manner impassable, it was resolved, in a council of war, to march the army back immediately to Newcastle; where the forces returned, on the 22d, and found the good quarters necessary to refresh them after their past, and to invigorate them for their future, fatigues.

THE invasion of the rebels having thrown all the northern and western parts of the kingdom
 into

into great confusion, directions were given by the government for forming another army in Staffordshire, under the command of Sir John Le-
gionier, to consist of eight veteran regiments, returned from Flanders, and seven of the new-raised regiments, who were ordered to assemble in the neighbourhood of Litchfield; though the command was afterwards transferred to the Duke of Cumberland. The city of Chester was put into a condition of defence, by the diligence of the Earl of Cholmondeley; and all necessary precautions were taken for the security of Liverpool.

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THE rebels had no intention of continuing at Carlisle; but to march forwards with all possible expedition, in hopes of arriving at London, while a general panic was scattered over the nation: they left a garrison, of 200 men, in the castle of Carlisle, under the command of Colonel Hamilton, who was appointed deputy governor under the Duke of Perth; and, on the 21st of November, began their march southwards. After entering Penrith, they advanced to Lancaster and Burton, on the 24th; from whence they proceeded to Preston, on the 27th; and, the day following, took possession of Manchester, where their whole army took up their quarters on the 29th; having marched seventy miles in eight days, in an excessive cold season, and the roads covered with frost and snow. During this expeditious march, they took care to proclaim the pretender, and collect the public money, in all the considerable places wherever they passed; as also to increase the terror of some of the inhabitants, and to raise the affection of others, by representing their numbers as much more formidable than they really were: at Manchester they
were

PART were joined by Mr Townley, Counsellor Morgan, and Mr Cappoch, a clergyman, whom the

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young pretender rewarded with the title of Bishop of Carlisle; several others, in creditable circumstances, joined them at Manchester, where they beat up for volunteers, and enlisted about 200 men, of which they formed a body called the Manchester regiment, and appointed Mr Townley colonel. The rebels now found all their hopes of an insurrection in England were vain, and fictitious; there was no appearance of a French invasion; every wish was disappointed; the chiefs were at variance; danger was at hand; and what should they do? to march into Wales would be too dangerous a step, in so mountainous a country; besides, all the bridges had been broke down on that side, and the roads rendered almost impassable: if they retreated back into Scotland, Marshal Wade lay ready to intercept them; and, if they continued to advance forward to London, they had only the hopes of escaping by the Duke of Cumberland, and approaching the metropolis, where they expected a numerous reinforcement of disaffected persons. Their situation was every way dangerous; but the thoughts of escaping the Duke of Cumberland brought them to a resolution of advancing southwards: this was done so suddenly that they continued only one day at Manchester; for they set out, on the 30th of November, for Derby, in two divisions; which, on the 1st of December, united at Macclesfield: the next day they resumed their march, in two columns; one of which entered Congleton, and the other passed near Gawsforth: on the 3d, the one division proceeded to Leake in Staffordshire, and the other to Ashbourn in Derbyshire; from whence, on the 4th, they

they continued their respective routs, and united CHAP.
at Derby, ninety-eight miles N. W. of London, III.
and 108 south of Carlisle; which was the farthest
progress of their desperate expedition; and where 1745.
it may not be improper to leave them, to see
what measures the government was taking to op-
pose them, what the French were attempting in
their favour, and what their associates in Scotland
were transacting in the absence of their pretend-
ed prince.





CHAPTER IV.

The loyalty of the inhabitants of ENGLAND, and IRELAND. The FRENCH invasion frustrated, by the prudence of Admiral VERNON. The dispositions of the REBELS under Lord JOHN DRUMMOND, and of the loyal CLANS under the Earl of LOUDON, in SCOTLAND. The retreat of the REBELS from DERBY; the action of CLIFTON; and the surrender of CARLISLE, to the Duke of CUMBERLAND. The REBELS re-enter SCOTLAND; take the town of STIRLING, and besiege the castle. The battle of FALKIRK.

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NEVER was there any instance of the Scotch insurgents penetrating so far into the bowels of England: they were now within 100 miles of the metropolis; the whole kingdom was in a consternation; a general terror was spread

spread from the Dee to the Severn, and from the Severn to the Thames: for what danger was not to be apprehended from so uncivilized a banditti? and what anarchy was not to be feared from their pretended prince, and his rapacious, desperate, or exasperated leaders? the vast preparations then making at Dunkirk, and Calais, for an invasion; and the apprehension of an insurrection, amongst the roman catholics, and disaffected party, in London, who were so elated at the success, and proximity, of the rebels, that they were far from dissembling their joy; occasioned an unusual gloom in the countenance of every friend to the government: nor were their fears imaginary; for had the French invasion succeeded, and had the rebels desperately continued their march to London; dreadful might have been the consequences: but, by the favour of providence, the steadiness of the king, the prudence of the government, and the vigilance of Admiral Vernon, supported by an uncommon zeal among all ranks of people for the public welfare, such precautions were taken as intimidated the French, dispirited the rebels, and effectually secured the national safety. A camp was ordered to be formed on Finchley common; the rebel manifestoes were publicly burnt, by the hands of the common hangman, at the Royal Exchange, and in the presence of the sheriffs of London, pursuant to a resolution of the lords and commons, who had voted them false, scandalous, and traiterous libels: many associations were entered into by the inhabitants of London, and Westminster; and several formidable bodies of men were assembled, for the protection of the metropolis: large, and bountiful, subscriptions, were made for the service, and encouragement,

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of

PART of the army: the gentlemen of the law, with the
 VII. lord chancellor and judges at their head, entered
 into a loyal association, with which they waited
 1745. on his majesty, at Kensington, in a grand procession of 200 coaches, who received them in the most gracious manner, and conferred the honour of knightwood on four of the judges, two of the serjeants, and two of the gentlemen within the bar: Admiral Vernon, with the officers, soldiers, and mariners, of his fleet, presented a very loyal and dutiful address, assuring his majesty of their determined resolutions, firmly and steadily, to support and defend his royal person and government, against all the attempts of his rebellious subjects, and all their adherents foreign and domestic: and unanimous was the cry, universal the behaviour, of all sorts of men, for the security of their monarch, their laws, their religion.

A PROCLAMATION was published for putting the laws in execution against popish priests, and jesuits, offering a reward, of 100*l.* for the discovery of any one of them within ten miles of London: an instance of the lenity of the government; because, by the still existing laws of Queen Elizabeth and James the first, it was high treason for any jesuit, or popish priest, even to reside within the kingdom, without taking the oaths.

A BILL was passed to enable his majesty to raise the militia in England; by which 36,250 men could be raised, exclusive of Wales, which was to furnish 2,300: a bill entirely requisite, because of the absolute necessity there is for England to be constantly furnished with a body of able and expert soldiers, natives of the kingdom, to whom alone, under their sovereign, the defence of it can be legally entrusted; for armies of foreign mercenaries are not a defence to be depended

depended on, being always dangerous, often subversive of civil government, and even of monarchy itself: opulency too, is of little signification to the defence of a people unaccustomed to military exercises; and if wealth could be relied on, Darius would have conquered Alexander; the Grecians the Romans; and Duke Charles the Switzers. What ravages may be made in a country, like England, with unfortified towns, on the landing of a formidable enemy? but a national militia, such as England formerly trained up, when every man was obliged to bear arms, would be an infallible defence against all the mercenary armies of Europe: witness the victories of Cressi, Poitiers, and Agincourt; also the invasion of France by Henry VIII. all performed by the militia of England: witness the exploits of the militia of Switzerland, which, without barrier towns, has preserved their country in tranquillity for more than two centuries: whoever ridicules the institution of a militia, let them consider what the Switzers did, when 1,300 of them routed a numerous army, commanded by the Archduke Leopold, at Margetten; when 1,600 of them beat and slew the same general, at the head of 20,000 men, at Sampach; and when 350 of them beat 8,000 Austrians, at Wesen; surprizing acts of valour in the defence of liberty; acts equal to those performed by the Grecians, against the mighty armies of Darius and Xerxes, at Marathon, Thermopylæ, and Platæa. From whence, and from the history of the Romans, it may be observed, how unsafe it is to commit the defence of national affairs to a mercenary army, who have nothing to encourage them but a pitiful pay, too inconsiderable to rouse such a fidelity as might prompt them to lay

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PART down their lives in the quarrel; for if an army
 VII. is not bound to the person for whom they fight,
 by particular obligations, such as the preservation
 1745. of their country, posterity and religion, they
 will not exert that inherent courage so predominant in the sons of liberty.

NOR was Ireland defective in loyalty: though long and fatally attached to the interest of the pretender, they now made no attempt for his re-establishment: while Scotland was bleeding to the heart, Ireland was a land of tranquillity; though she had formerly been a thorn in the sides of England, she now gave new strength to the royal power, and added one unblemished jewel to the British crown. The cruelties of Tyrconnel, in 1641, were too recent, among the protestants, not to be recollected with the greatest horror: the tyranny of James II. was still fresh, and remembered with equal dread; for while the lightning blasted other places, in that detestable reign, the bolt itself fell upon Ireland; and though the kingdom had, for more than half a century, possessed the advantages of liberty, property, commerce, and peace, yet the former wounds of civil commotions were still visible, were still felt: this kept the protestants on their guard; this intimidated the papists; and both, by a common happiness centered in their excellent governor, enjoyed a reciprocal intercourse of friendship, and familiarity: the protestants, by their indulgence, won the affections of the papists; and the papists, by their peaceable deportment, attracted the respect of the protestants.

THE Earl of Chesterfield assembled the parliament of Ireland, on the 8th of October; when his excellency opened the session with the fol-

following elegant speech, a speech that ought to be recorded in the latest annals of time.

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“ MY Lords, and Gentlemen,

“ I AM honoured with the king’s commands
“ to meet you here in parliament, and to co-
“ operate with you in whatever may tend to es-
“ tablish, or promote, the true interest of this
“ kingdom. His majesty’s tender concern for
“ all his subjects, and your zeal, and duty, for
“ him, have mutually been too long experi-
“ enced for me now to represent the one, or re-
“ commend the other.

“ YOUR own reflections will best suggest to
“ you the advantages you have enjoyed under a
“ succession of protestant princes, by nature in-
“ clined, and by legal authority enabled, to pre-
“ serve and protect you, as your own history,
“ and even the experience of some still alive
“ among you, will best paint the miseries and
“ calamities of a people scourged, rather than
“ governed, by blind zeal, and lawless power.

“ THESE considerations most necessarily excite
“ your highest indignation at the attempt now
“ carrying on in Scotland, to disturb his majes-
“ ty’s government, by a pretender to his crown:
“ one nursed up in civil and religious error;
“ formed to persecution and oppression, in the
“ seat of superstition and tyranny; whose ground-
“ less claim, is as contrary to the natural rights
“ of mankind, as to the particular laws and con-
“ stitutions of these kingdoms; whose only hopes
“ of support are placed in the enemies of the
“ liberties of Europe in general; and whose suc-
“ cess would consequently destroy your liberty,
“ your property, and your religion.

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“ BUT this success is little to be feared, his
 “ majesty’s subjects giving daily and distinguish-
 “ ed proofs of their zeal for the support of his
 “ government, and the defence of his person ;
 “ and a considerable number of national troops,
 “ together with 6,000 Dutch, chearfully furnish-
 “ ed to his majesty by his good allies the States
 “ General, being now upon their march to
 “ Scotland, a force more than sufficient to check
 “ the progress, and chastise the insolence of a
 “ rebellious and undisciplined multitude.

“ THE measures that have hitherto been ta-
 “ ken to prevent the growth of popery, have, I
 “ hope, had some, and will still have a greater
 “ effect ; however, I leave it to your considera-
 “ tion, whether nothing farther can be done,
 “ either by new laws, or by the more effectual
 “ execution of those in being, to secure this
 “ nation against the great number of papists,
 “ whose speculative errors would only deserve
 “ pity, if their pernicious influence upon civil
 “ society did not both require and authorize
 “ restraint.

“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons,
 “ I HAVE ordered the proper officers to lay
 “ before you the several accounts and estimates,
 “ and I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that
 “ I have nothing to ask but the usual and ne-
 “ cessary supplies for the support of the estab-
 “ lishment.

“ THE king having thought it necessary at
 “ this time to lend for two battalions more from
 “ hence, has ordered that, immediately upon
 “ their landing in England, they should be put
 “ upon the British establishment ; and that the
 “ supplemental increase of regular forces for
 “ your defence here shall be made in the least

“ ex-

“expensive manner, by additional companies CHAP.
“only; after which augmentation the number IV.
“of troops will still be within the usual military
“establishment. 1745.

“My Lords and Gentlemen,

“IT is with the greatest satisfaction that I
“hear of the present flourishing state of the
“linnen manufacture, and I most earnestly re-
“commend to you the care and improvement
“of so valuable a branch of your trade: let not
“its prosperity produce negligence, and let it
“never be supposed to be brought to its utmost
“extent and perfection. Trade has always
“been the support of all nations, and the prin-
“cipal care of the wisest.

“I PERSUADE myself that the business of
“this session will be carried on with that tem-
“per and unanimity, which a true and unbiassed
“regard for the public naturally produces, and
“which the present state of affairs more parti-
“cularly demands. For my own part, I make
“no professions; you will, you ought, to judge
“of me, only by my actions.”

THE Irish parliament immediately took their
danger into consideration; and, in imitation of
what was done by the British parliament, in
1744, passed an act, whereby it was enacted,
“THAT every subject of Ireland, who should
“hold correspondence of any kind with the sons
“of the pretender, or persons employed by
“them; or should remit, pay, or receive, any
“money for their use, should suffer, as in cases
“of high treason: THAT if a son of the pre-
“tender should land, or attempt to land, in
“Ireland, he should be judged attainted of high
“treason, and suffer accordingly; and that

PART “ 50,000*l.* should be forthwith paid, out of any

VII. “ parliamentary fund, to any person who should

“ seize, or secure him, or to his executors, or

1745. “ administrators, if killed in such seizure.” The

national debt was now 259,000*l.* and the commons voted a supply to his majesty, of 607,080*l.*

for supporting the necessary establishment, from

the 25th of December 1745, to the 25th of

December 1747; and for providing 30,000 fire-

locks and bayonets, and 10,000 broad-swords,

for the use of a national militia; and for erect-

ing batteries in the harbour of Cork: the appli-

cation of which was intrusted to the management

of their darling governor, who was truly sensible

of the trust reposed in him, and as faithfully

executed it to the general satisfaction of the na-

tion; where his extraordinary benevolence, his

easy affability, courteous deportment, noble de-

meanour, generous hospitality, admirable con-

duct, humane disposition, and the mild exercise

of justice attempered with the divinest ray of

clemency, won him the general and undistin-

guished love of the whole community: for men,

however inconsistent in principles, however dif-

ferent in opinion, all agreed in this, that their

monarch had sent them the greatest blessing in

so great, so good, a governor. To the wise

administration of his excellency the Earl of Ches-

terfield, did Ireland indisputably owe her safety,

ease, and prosperity: his excellency, on the first

intimation of an intended insurrection, among

some of the disaffected papists in the country,

sent privately for some of the suspected persons,

and entirely prevented the execution of such a

design, if any such was intended: by indulging

the papists in the free toleration of their religion,

he entirely captivated their affections: from his

example

example the spirit of loyalty diffused itself instantaneously among all the protestants, throughout the kingdom; the several counties, and baronies, readily, and chearfully, assembled; every protestant expressed a brave and loyal resolution, a resolution of defending the person of his majesty, and the laws, and religion of his country: many thousands were in arms, in the different parts of the kingdom, particularly in the province of Ulster, where the county of Antrim, alone, furnished upwards of 30,000 men, all properly armed, and ready not only to defend their own country, but even offering their service for the defence of England: nor was the province of Leinster less vigilant in expressing their loyalty; for the city of Dublin, alone, provided a regiment of horse militia, consisting of 600 men, a regiment of horse volunteers of 300 men, three regiments of foot of 2,000 each, and several independent companies of foot amounting to 1,000 men: gentlemen of the first rank composed the militia, and all were determined to perish rather than lose their liberties. This brave, this loyal, this commendable behaviour, was universally prevalent among the protestants of Ireland, during the whole course of the rebellion: the Earl of Chesterfield enacted many salutary laws: and before his departure for England, in his last speech to the parliament, on the 11th of April 1746, his excellency observed to the lords and gentlemen, "THAT the almost
"unprecedented temper, and unanimity, with
"which they carried on the public business:
"their unshaken fidelity to the king, their
"inviolable attachment to the present happy
"constitution, and their just indignation at the
"attempts lately made to subvert it; would

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“ advantageously distinguish this session in the
 “ journals of parliament: and the concurrent
 “ zeal, and active loyalty, of all his majesty’s
 1745. “ protestant subjects, of all denominations
 “ throughout the kingdom, proved, at once,
 “ how sensible, and how deserving, they were
 “ of his care, and protection. Even those deluded
 “ people, who scarcely acknowledged his
 “ government, seemed, by their conduct, tacitly
 “ to have confessed the advantages they
 “ enjoyed under it: and, at his return to his
 “ majesty’s presence, he should not fail to report
 “ these truths; since the most faithful would
 “ be, at the same time, the most favourable
 “ presentation.” After which his excellency, to
 the universal grief of the inhabitants, departed
 from a kingdom, where he was beloved almost
 to adoration, and where the waste of time will
 never impair the memory of the best and most
 illustrious governor that ever presided over the
 Irish nation.

WHILE the rebellious commotion was blazing
 in the heart of England; alarming was the danger
 from France, and all the hopes of protection,
 depended on the courage, vigilance, and abilities
 of Admiral Vernon; which, as they were equal
 to the important trust, soothed the fears of the
 desponding nation. This gallant commander
 narrowly watched all the preparations along
 the coast of France; while Rear-Admiral Byng
 continued in his station on the eastern coast
 of Scotland: for his majesty sent an express
 to Admiral Vernon, on the 4th of November,
 for communicating to him the intelligence of
 the French having actually begun a considerable
 embarkation of Scotch and Irish troops, at
 Dunkirk; directing the admiral to gather what
 force

force of ships he could immediately together, CHAP.
and to use his best endeavours, either to prevent IV.

them from getting out of Dunkirk, or, if they came out, to take and destroy them. The admiral had but an inconsiderable force to oppose any formidable invasion, of which the Earl of Sandwich, who presided in the second place at the board of admiralty, was so sensible, that, on the 14th of November, he informed the admiral by letter, " That he hoped the admiral was convinced that his lordship was not the only person at the board uneasy to see one of his character and rank in the service, in a command, which to be sure, seemed not properly consistent with the dignity of his station : but that such were the difficulties of the times, and so many were the services required to be executed, with an insufficient force, that though the inclination of the lords of the admiralty would be to see the admiral at the head of the whole fleet of the kingdom, the circumstances of their affairs, at present, were such, and the services required from them so various, and distant, that they had been obliged to act contrary to their intentions, in this, as well as in many other destinations of the force under his directions." Admiral Vernon pointed out to the board of admiralty, that though he had but a small force, he had a large district for being watchful of any attempts from the French : however, as he set out with a resolution to overlook all objections for the national benefit, he was determined to do his royal master the best service in his power, with such force, and such an authority, as should be committed to him. Great preparations were making at Dunkirk, and Ostend ; several regiments were

1745.

PART were assembling there; and a great number of
 VII. transports were collected: this occasioned Ad-
 miral Vernon vigilantly to exert himself for co-
 1745. vering the counties of Kent and Suffolk, the
 mouths of the two great rivers of Medway and
 Thames, and pursuing the French to Scotland: he made such an excellent disposition, with his
 cruizers, that the French were intimidated from
 making any embarkation from Dunkirk and
 Ostend, and changed this resolution, for another;
 which was, to make an attempt from Boulogne
 and Calais with small vessels, which they intended
 to push on shore on the coast of Dungeness in
 Kent.

THOUGH Admiral Vernon diligently inspect-
 ed into the motions of the French, this could
 not deter them from sending out a reinforcement
 to Scotland, under the command of Lord John
 Drummond, brother to the Duke of Perth, and
 who had long bore a commission in the service
 of France; this reinforcement, consisted, of five
 companies of the Irish regiments commanded by
 Lord Drummond, besides some other of the
 Irish regiments in France; who were embarked
 on board three privateers, and set sail, on the
 21st of November, from Dunkirk for Montrose
 in Scotland. Admiral Vernon had intelligence
 of their sailing, and so prudently stationed his
 cruizers, that, on the 22d, the Sheerness man of
 war, of twenty guns, commanded by Capt. Bully,
 fell in with one of them, formerly called the
 Soliel, but lately named the *Esperance*, which he
 took, and brought into Dover: among the pri-
 soners was Charles Ratcliffe, Esq; brother to the late
 forfeiting and unhappy Earl of Derwentwater,
 who was attainted in 1715, and had since resided
 in France, where he assumed the title of Earl of
 Der-

Derwentwater; and the son of this unfortunate gentleman was also on board, with about thirty other officers, and 140 soldiers: but Lord John Drummond, with the rest of his men, were safely landed, by the two other vessels, in Scotland. Soon after the Milford man of war, of forty guns, commanded by Capt. Hanway, fell in with another vessel, called the Lewis XV, with nine captains, ten lieutenants, two surgeons, and 210 French soldiers on board, which he took, and carried up to Leith.

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THE credibility of this destined invasion was so universally prevalent, that his Britannic majesty, on the 19th of December, sent a message, by the Chancellor of the exchequer, to the house of commons, importing, "That his majesty having received undoubted intelligence that preparations were making at Dunkirk, and other ports in France, which were then in great forwardness, for invading Britain, with a considerable number of forces, in support of the rebellion; and some French troops being actually landed in Scotland; his majesty thought it proper to acquaint the house of commons with an event of such high importance to his crown, and to the peace and security of his kingdoms: informing them, that he judged it necessary to direct the 6,000 Hessians in British pay to be brought into the kingdom, the more effectually to repel the invasion, and suppress the rebellion; doubting not but his faithful commons would concur in all such measures as should be necessary for disappointing, and defeating, so dangerous an attempt." A proclamation was also published, commanding all officers, both civil and military, in their respective counties, to cause the coasts to be carefully

PART fully watched ; and, upon the first approach of
 VII. an enemy, immediately to cause all horses, oxen,
 and cattle, fit for draught or burthen, to be re-
 1745. moved at least twenty miles from the place where
 the enemy should attempt to land.

ABOVE 700 smugglers had their residence in, and about, the neighbourhood of Deal, Dover, Ramsgate, and Folkestone, who carried on a perpetual and infamous trade with France ; a trade which had converted those employed in it, first from honest industrious fishermen, to lazy, drunken, and profligate smugglers, and now to dangerous spies on all the proceedings on the coast for the information of France. All the road from Dunkirk to Ostend was narrowly observed by the British cruizers ; which obliged the French to bring all their embarkations from those two places, to Boulogne and Calais, freighted with artillery, ammunition, and military stores ; though some of them were intercepted by Admiral Vernon, whose cruizers took five galliot hoys coming down from Havre de Grace to Boulogne ; a dogger, from Dunkirk to Calais, with five pieces of cannon, 100 barrels of gun powder, and other military stores, was blown up ; two shallop fishing boats sunk ; twelve others chased on shore ; and three, with cannon and military stores, brought into Dover ; besides a privateer of six guns, and fifty men ; all designed for favouring the intended invasion : 6,000 of the Irish troops were to be embarked in large ships for Scotland ; but the embarkation of the French national troops, consisting of 12,000 men, commanded by Count Lowendahl, and the younger son of the pretender, was to be somewhere in England, for which all the fishing boats on the coast were taken up ; and with which the French intended to attempt their

their passage upon the next full moon, which CHAP.
was on the 24th of December; for they had as- IV.
sembled in the harbour of Boulogne no less than
fifteen sail of ships, snows, brigs, and doggers, thirty-six galliot hoys, and about ninety fishing boats: they had also six privateers of considerable force, a half galley, ten galliot hoys, and a great number of shallops, at Calais, all ready for sailing, with several English smugglers for pilots. 1745.

ADMIRAL VERNON apprehended their design; he had already prevented their embarkation from Dunkirk and Ostend; he now proceeded immediately to sea; and, by his prudent dispositions, intimidated them from sailing either from Calais or Boulogne, entirely frustrating all their designs of an invasion, if any such was intended; though he had no more than four ships of the line, six from fifty to twenty guns, with nineteen sloops, privateers, tenders, and cutters: so that the British nation was no longer apprehensive of the storm that was so long hovering on their coast. But these eminent services of this gallant admiral were ill rewarded; for, as he acquainted the Duke of Bedford, "He was hunted out of his command by the operative hand of some malicious, and industrious agent, that was too well skreened over, for his being able to discover him, and point out who it was;" and, accordingly, Vice-Admiral Martin succeeded to the command; though not till Admiral Vernon had the pleasing satisfaction, of seeing a whole nation pay a due respect to that merit, which was contemptuously treated by those from whom the greatest regard was necessarily expected; for the whole kingdom was sensible, that the activity of this experienced commander had put an absolute

PART lute check on the French, and banished every
VII. idea of an intended descent.

1745. *YET* in North Britain the flame of rebellion began again to spread itself, by the assistance of Lord John Drummond, who landed, on the 24th of November, with 500 men, at Aberdeen, Peterhead, and Montrose; having brought with him a small train of artillery. This officer established his head quarters at Perth, and published a declaration, as commander in chief of the French forces in Scotland, declaring, that the French monarch would support the pretender to the utmost, and threatening destruction to all who should not assist him: he was soon joined by 250 men, which the Lord Lewis Gordon had been raising in the county of Mar; and these were soon reinforced by several of the clans, under the Earl of Cromartie, and Lord Strathallan, consisting of 300 of the Mac-Kenzies, 300 of the Mac-Intoshes, and 120 of the Farquharsons and Guns; making together with the French, and those under Lord Lewis Gordon, a body of 1470 men. The loyal Earl of Loudon, and Duncan Forbes, Esq; the lord president of Scotland, had early apprehensions that the dawning success of the rebels would incite a considerable number of the other clans to espouse the cause of the young pretender; this made them seasonably repair into the northern counties, to animate the well affected clans, and to make the necessary dispositions for opposing the rebels; and, before the middle of November, they were joined by the young Laird of Mac-Cleod with 450 men, by 120 of the Grants under Rothemarcus, by 200 Monroes under Culcainn, by 250 of the Mac-Kenzies belonging to Lord Fortrose, by 120 of the Guns under Mac-Kemish, and by

200 men belonging to the Earl of Sutherland, which, together with the new highland regiment of 500 men commanded by the Earl of Loudon, formed a body of 1840 men; all assembled in the neighbourhood of Inverness. Lord Lovat, the chief of the clan of Frasers, was justly suspected to be a principal accomplice in the rebellion; though he had the artifice to conceal it for a considerable time: at length he imagined there was both a safe, and a favourable, opportunity of exerting his interest for the success of the rebellion; he, therefore, compelled his son, the young master of Lovat, to march with 500 of his clan, and form the blockade of Fort Augustus; which was immediately put into execution: though the blockade was defeated by the vigilance of the Earl of Loudon, who marched to the relief of the fort; and, after supplying the garrison, returned to Inverness: after which the Earl of Loudon scoured all the north, from the rebel parties, within twelve miles of Aberdeen; where Lord Lewis Gordon was stationed with 1,200 men: though the rebels had surprised and taken the Hazard sloop of war, of sixteen guns, with which they had fortified the harbour of Montrose; they had also received a supply from Spain, and had fifteen pieces of cannon at Perth, with which they intended to undertake the siege of Stirling; for they were now not only become masters of all the east part of Scotland from Aberdeen to the Firth of Tay, but had even taken possession of Dumblain, Down-Castle, and other ports in sight of Stirling; and laid Fife under contribution.

WHILE these different transactions happened, the Duke of Cumberland was preparing to oppose the young pretender, and such of his rebellious

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lious adherents as were entering the inland towns of England. His royal highness arrived at Litchfield, on the 28th of November, and found the troops in regular cantonments, extending from Tamworth to Stafford, being about nineteen miles in length; the army consisting of 7,500 veteran foot, and 1,400 veteran horse, besides 3,000 new raised foot, and 800 new raised horse, in all 12,700 men. His royal highness immediately assembled the army at Stafford; a detachment of horse was posted at Newcastle, ten miles north of Stafford; and, on the 2d of December, his royal highness marched the main body of his forces to Stone, in expectation of meeting the rebels on their march from Congleton: but the duke having received intelligence that the rebels were advancing to Derby, this occasioned the return of the royal army to Stafford; where it was resolved to retire towards Northampton, to intercept them in their rout, if they endeavoured to penetrate southwards: though his royal highness altered the intended march, on his receiving information that the rebels continued at Derby; which made it necessary for the duke to halt, and encamp his army on Meriden common, in the neighbourhood of Coventry: especially as Marshal Wade was advancing, from Newcastle, on the rear of the rebels; and was at Wetherby, in Yorkshire, on the 4th of December.

THESE dispositions of the royal forces threw the rebels in the greatest perplexity; their fear naturally bred confusion; and their danger created distrust: their councils were agitated with all the disorder, and passion, attendant on men in their desperate circumstances; some were for advancing forwards; others for fighting the Duke; but

but the majority were for returning to Scotland, and joining the forces under Lord John Drummond, before they were cut off from every possibility of retiring: a retreat was therefore determined upon, which was immediately put into execution; and, on the 6th of December, they precipitately abandoned Derby, marching with such expedition through Ashbourne, Leake, Manchester, Leigh, and Wiggan, that they entered Preston, on the 12th of December, having marched upwards of eighty miles in less than six days; shewing a warm spirit of resentment, for their disappointment, by levying considerable contributions, and plundering a great part of the country. The Duke of Cumberland, having certain intelligence, on the 7th of December, that the rebels were retreating, put himself at the head of all the horse and dragoons, with 1,000 volunteers, to stop the rebels till the rest of the royal army came up, or to harass them in their flight: but the rebels marched with such celerity, that the duke could not overtake even their rear, till after their departure from Preston. However the rebels were in a very dangerous situation; their march was retarded by the inhabitants of the country; the duke at their backs, and Marshal Wade was advancing in their front: but they overflew the latter danger, for the marshal was not able to reach Wakefield, before the 10th of December; where he had intelligence that the rebels were advancing between Manchester and Preston, so that it was impossible to come up with them; upon which the marshal returned to Newcastle with the infantry, having detached Major-General Oglethorpe, on the 11th, with the royal hunters, the two regiments of horse, and the regiment of dragoons,

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PART VII. to join the Duke of Cumberland; and this expert commander surprizingly conducted the cavalry to Preston on the 13th, having performed a laborious march of 100 miles, over ice and snow, and through a dangerous and almost impassable road, in less than three days, which was a noble testimony of the zeal and spirit of this gallant and indefatigable officer; who also assisted the government with a body of his Georgia rangers.

THE rebels quitted Preston early on the 13th of December; and continued their march with such extraordinary rapidity, that they passed through Lancaster, and arrived at Kendal, in Westmoreland, on the 15th; though Lord Elcho, who commanded the rear-guard of 1,000 men, had two or three skirmishes, between Preston and Lancaster, with some of the party commanded by General Oglethorpe, who had joined the Duke of Cumberland at Preston, and continually harraressed the retreating rebels. The Duke of Cumberland, and General Oglethorpe, came up with the rear of the rebels, on the 18th of December, within three miles of Penrith: upon which Lord George Murray threw his men into the village of Clifton; where they had great advantages from the situation of the place, and from some broken walls which served them instead of retrenchments. His royal highness, however, dismounted two regiments of dragoons, and caused the place immediately to be attacked; when the rebels, after a warm dispute, which continued about an hour, were driven from their defensible situation, and owed their preservation to the darkness of the evening; having several of their men killed, though they endeavoured to conceal the number; but they had seventy taken

taken prisoners, among whom was a captain of hussars: there was also about forty of the dragoons killed and wounded, and among the latter was Lieutenant-Colonel Honeywood of Bland's regiment, one captain, and two cornets.

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WHILE their rear-guard was engaged at Clifton, the main body of the rebels were at Penrith; where they were so apprehensive of being overtaken, that, at ten o'clock at night, they ordered their artillery and baggage to advance towards Carlisle; and, on the 19th, in the morning, they entered that city, excessively fatigued, and in terrible confusion; having marched above 150 miles in twelve days, and at a most uncomfortable time of the year. The rebels did not think proper to continue at Carlisle: however they reinforced the garrison of the castle, with 100 Scotch, and a few French; leaving Colonel Townley, with the Manchester regiment, to defend the city: after which the rebel army crossed the Eden and Solway; and separating, in two columns, re-entered Scotland, directing their march for Glasgow: because Marshal Wade had detached Major-General Huske, and Brigadier-General Cholmondeley, with eight English battalions, for the security of Edinburgh.

THE Duke of Cumberland halted at Penrith, for the arrival of his whole army, which had been diligently following him, under the command of the Duke of Richmond, and Lieutenant-General St Clair; the Major-Generals Skelton, and Bland; and the Brigadiers Lord Sempill, Bligh, and Douglas. On the 21st of December, the whole army proceeded, in three columns, for Carlisle; and immediately invested the city on all sides: but the blockade was continued for seven days without opening trenches, in expectation

PART. tation of the heavy cannon which the duke had
VII. sent for from Whitehaven. All this time the

rebels seemed resolutely determined to make a
1745. vigorous defence, and made a continual fire,
though with little effect: but when a battery of
six eighteen pounders, was erected, on the 28th
of December, they began to be intimidated;
and, on the 30th, hung out a white flag, of-
fering hostages for a capitulation. The duke
immediately sent a message, by Colonel Conway,
his aid de camp, to acquaint them, " That he
" would make no exchange of hostages with
" rebels; but desired they would let him know
" what they meant by hanging out the white
" flag." Colonel Conway returned with a pa-
per, signed by the Deputy-Governor Hamilton,
" Desiring to know what terms his royal high-
" ness would please to give them, upon the sur-
" render of the city, and castle; and which
" known, his royal highness should be duly ac-
" quainted with their ultimate resolution; the
" white flag being hung out on purpose to obtain
" a cessation of arms for concluding such a ca-
" pitulation:" upon which Colonel Conway
was sent back with the terms signed by the Duke
of Richmond, by order of his royal highness,
importing, " That all the terms his royal high-
" ness could, or would, grant to the rebel gar-
" rison were, that they should not be put to the
" sword, but reserved for the king's pleasure:
" and if they consented to these conditions, the
" governor, and principal officers, were to de-
" liver themselves up immediately; and the
" castle, citadel, and all the gates of the town,
" were to be taken possession of forthwith by the
" king's troops: that all the small arms were to
" be lodged in the town-guard-room, and the
" rest

“rest of the garrison were to retire to the ca-
“thedral, where a guard was to be placed over
“them: and that no damage was to be done to
“the artillery, arms, or ammunition.” The

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The governor, and garrison, accepted the capitulation; recommending themselves to the royal clemency, and the interposition of the Duke of Cumberland for their pardon: on which Brigadier Bligh took possession of the place, with 1,000 foot, and 120 horse: when Colonel Townley, with eighteen of his officers, and ninety-three of the men belonging to the Manchester regiment were taken; as was Governor Hamilton, a native of Aberdeenshire, with seventeen officers, and 256 Scotchmen; James Cappock of Lancashire, made, by the pretender, Bishop of Carlisle, was also taken; besides Sir Francis Geogean, Sir John Arbuthnot, Colonel Strickland, a serjeant, and four private men, in the French service: the artillery taken was sixteen pieces of different bore, all brass, but none exceeding four pounders. Such was the fate of this unfortunate garrison, who were really sacrificed to the safety of their pretended prince; for most of the principal officers afterwards underwent the legal punishment, due to their disloyalty and jurisdiction: nor did the magistrates of Carlisle escape being taken into custody for surrendering the town, though they vindicated their conduct in such a manner as to gain their release. After the reduction of Carlisle, the Duke of Cumberland returned to London, where he arrived on the 5th of January: the old regiments continued on the borders of Scotland, and the new ones returned home: while Lieutenant-General Hawley, who had commanded as a Colonel against the rebels in 1715, and was now appointed commander in

PART chief of the forces in Scotland, was preparing
VII. to follow the rebels.

THE rebels, during the whole time of their retreat from Derby to Scotland, were observed to behave with greater severity and licence than before: they exacted a large contribution at Dumfries, the capital of Nithisdale: they afterwards separated in two columns, which united in Clydesdale, and entered Glasgow, on the 25th of December, without any opposition; for the Earl of Hume was obliged to retire with the Glasgow regiment to Edinburgh. The zeal which the inhabitants of Glasgow had shewn for the government, both at the revolution in 1688, and the rebellion in 1715, as well as their remarkable loyalty in the present commotion, could not but expose them to the resentment of the rebels; who continued here eight days; and, in that time, exacted such contributions, in broad cloth, tartan, linnen, bonnets, and shoes, as amounted to 10,000*l*; exclusive of the public money: after which the rebels continued their rout to Stirling, with an intention to join the forces under Lord John Drummond, Lord Lewis Gordon, the Master of Lovat, and Sir James Kinloch, and so endeavour to reduce the town and castle of Stirling. The rebels, on the 5th of January 1746, closely invested the town of Stirling, with the main body of their army, now reinforced by Lord John Drummond with the northern levies; while a strong detachment, under the Earl of Kilmarnock, was posted at Falkirk, eight miles south of Stirling, to cover the siege; which was carried on so vigorously against the town, that the magistrates, after some treaty, agreed on a favourable capitulation, and surrendered up the gates, on the 8th. This conduct of the magistrates

strates was generally censured, especially as it was highly disapproved by Major-General Blakeney, who commanded in the castle, and vainly endeavoured to animate the inhabitants to a vigorous defence: though the magistracy afterwards sufficiently vindicated their behaviour, because they had only 700 of the militia and townsmen in arms, and had taking care to send all the militia and arms into the castle; which General Blakeney was determined to defend to the last extremity. The rebels immediately summoned the castle; but, finding the commandant resolute in defending it, they brought their cannon across the Forth, and broke ground, on the 12th, before the castle: though, as the Highlanders are naturally unqualified for the operations of a siege, they made little progress in their attempt, and suffered prodigiously by the continued fire of the besieged.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HAWLEY, who had assumed his command at Edinburgh, found himself at the head of three regiments of dragoons, and fourteen battalions, besides three battalions of the country forces; with which he determined to raise the siege of Stirling: because, if the rebels succeeded in the siege, it would give their arms an additional reputation; it would give them an opportunity of securing the country behind them, for the winter; by which they would be induced to make a strong fortification at Perth; and then they would be capable of maintaining themselves along the coasts, on both sides of the country, which would facilitate their receiving supplies from abroad. General Hawley, on the 13th of January, detached Major-General Huske, with five regiments of foot, the Glasgow volunteers, commanded by the Earl of

PART Hume, and three squadrons of dragoons, to dis-

VII. lodge the Earl of Kilmarnock from Falkirk,

where he lay with most of the cavalry belonging

1746. to the rebel army, and some picquets, in all,

about 1,600 men: though the earl, in the mean time, received orders to advance to Linlithgow, on the borders of Lothian, fourteen miles S. E. of Stirling, and sixteen miles west of Edinburgh, with all the carts and waggons he could procure to carry off all the provisions in the country, and to observe the motions of the royal forces. Major-General Huske marched so expeditiously that he reached Linlithgow, with the dragoons, the same day he set out from Edinburgh; at the same time that the Earl of Kilmarnock was in the neighbourhood of the town; who understood that the rest of the royal forces were at hand, and therefore returned immediately to Falkirk, sending the young pretender information of what he had seen, and what had been reported to him; which was a sufficient incitement for the rebel generals to form the resolution of marching against, and attacking, Lieutenant-General Hawley; who was advancing towards Falkirk, from whence the Earl of Kilmarnock had retreated to Stirling.

THE royal forces were all assembled, on the 17th of January, at Falkirk; consisting of the dragoons of Cobham, Hamilton, and Colonel Legonier, who succeeded Colonel Gardiner; the foot regiments of Wolf, Cholmondeley, Pulteney, Price, Blakeney, Monro, Fleming, Barrel, Battereau, and the second battalion of Royal Scots; with the Glasgow regiment, and 1,000 Argyllshire highlanders under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell; in all 8,600 foot, and 900 horse. Lieutenant-General Hawley was informed that

the

the rebels were in continual motion, but so that no sort of judgment could be formed of their intention; some reporting that they were forming entrenchments in Tor wood, three miles to the south of Stirling; others that they were inclinable to raise the siege; and many affirming that they designed to advance, and give battle to the royal forces: Lieutenant-General Hawley, however, after maturely considering the situation of affairs, and the several accounts he had received, came to a resolution of deferring the attack till the next day; both in regard to the foulness of the weather, and because he was desirous of obtaining such intelligence as might enable him to make the most advantageous dispositions for acting against them with his cavalry, and artillery, which consisted of twelve field pieces. But the rebels were impatient to come to action; they were in motion on the 16th; and were in full march, the next morning, with the battalions of Keppoch, Clanronald, Glengary, Lochiel, Appin, Cluney, Fraser, Athol, Ogilvie, Nairn, Farquharson, the battalion under Lord Lewis Gordon, and the French under Lord John Drummond, with 500 horse; in all 8,200 men; who were advancing in two columns, and, about noon, were seen by the picquets of the royal army, at three miles distance, marching towards the south, to some rising grounds upon a moor within a mile of Falkirk; a policy which contributed to their advantage, as it gave them the weather-gage of the royal army, when the day was rough and rainy. This occasioned General Hawley to get his troops under arms; he formed them immediately in the front of the camp; and bent his march towards the same ground to which it was apprehended the rebels were going, being a large

PART large mile on the left of the camp: but as soon as
VII. the troops were got thither, they perceived the re-
bels moving up, with their right extending to the

1746. south. The rebel army, was drawn up in two lines, without any body of reserve: the right wing was commanded by Lord George Murray, who formed the disposition; the left wing was commanded by Lord John Drummond; and the young pretender was in the centre, with all the cavalry, and the battalion of Appin: the royal forces were drawn up in two lines, having the three regiments of dragoons on the left; with the Argyllshire highlanders, and the Glasgow militia, in reserve; with General Hawley on the left wing, and Major-General Huske on the right. Both armies were eager of possessing the eminencies of the hill; they were both very near; and, about three o'clock, were both ascending the hill, in a violent storm of wind and rain, which blew full in the faces of the royal forces. General Hawley could not get his cannon up the acclivity of the hill; he perceived that a morass had given the rebels an opportunity of out flanking him; and, when the troops were within 100 yards of the rebels, orders were given for the lines to advance, and a body of dragoons, led on by Colonel Legonier, to attack them sword in hand, while the foot were ascending the hill to sustain them. The rebels had extended their right wing along the back of the hill, out of sight; so that they attacked the dragoons, while the royal foot, out of breath with the quickness of their march and the badness of the weather, were struggling up the ascent: the dragoons broke the first line of the rebels, with considerable slaughter; but upon the second time of the rebels advancing, with a smart fire, the dragoons gave ground,

ground, and bore back upon the foot; though their officers, particularly Colonel Legonier and Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, did all that was possible to rally them: by this accident the pa-

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nic was spread among the foot, who, after an irregular discharge, occasioned by the rain damping their powder, followed the example of the dragoons; every where retiring, except on the right, where Brigadier Cholmondeley rallied the regiments of Barrel and Price, who resolutely advanced, and fairly drove the rebels before them. Lieutenant-General Hawley vainly endeavoured to rally the dragoons: however Major-General Huske, with wonderful prudence and presence of mind, drew together a body of foot, and formed them, at some distance, in the rear of the regiments headed by Brigadier Cholmondeley; which intimidated some of the rebel battalions from advancing on the right, and gave Brigadier Mordaunt time to rally and form the scattered battalions into their several corps, while Colonel Legonier rallied the dragoons: so that General Huske gallantly secured the retreat of the royal forces to Falkirk, from whence they proceeded back to Linlithgow, after setting fire to their camp, and leaving most of their artillery and baggage to the rebels; who never offered to pursue them. The royal army lost about 300 men, killed and wounded: among the former was the brave Sir Robert Monro, formerly lieutenant-colonel of the highland regiment, and promoted, after the battle of Fontenoy, to the regiment commanded by General Ponsonby; Doctor Monro, his brother, was also killed; as was Lieutenant-Colonel Biggar of the same regiment: Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, of Naizon's dragoons, and Lieutenant-Colonel Powel, of Cholmondeley's regiment, were also among the slain; Briga-

PART Brigadier Cholmondeley was dangerously wound-

VII. ed, and contracted a palsy from the cold he

caught in the field; Colonel Legonier, who was

1746. extremely indisposed with a pleurisy before the

battle, contracted a quinsy, by exposing himself

to the inclemency of the weather, which occasi-

oned his death in a week after the battle: several

captains, and inferior officers, were among the

wounded, and prisoners: but the rebels lost no

officer of distinction; though Lord John Drum-

mond was wounded in the arm.

THE royal forces afterwards proceeded to

Edinburgh; where they had the satisfaction of

finding the officers who had been taken prisoners

at the battle of Gladsmuir, and were confined in

the county of Fife, from whence their escape

was favoured by the inhabitants, on the rebels

recalling the troops that guarded them, to

strengthen their army before the battle of Fal-

kirk. The animated rebels returned, the day af-

ter the battle, to Stirling, where they again sum-

moned the governor of the castle; but General

Blakeney persisting in his resolution of defending

the fortress, the rebels sent all their prisoners, ex-

cept the officers, to Down-Castle, in Menteith,

and re-commenced the siege, which they prose-

cuted only to their own destruction: they also

ordered the Hazard sloop, which had been refit-

ted at Montrose, to sail to France with the news

of their advantage, which they magnified ex-

trremely, in hopes of a sufficient reinforcement;

but though Cardinal Tencin interested himself in

favour of the young pretender, he could not

prevail on the French monarch to order the in-

tended succours to Scotland, or England, with-

out the assistance of the Spanish Squadron at Fer-

rol: so that the young pretender, though encour-

aged

raged by France and Spain to undertake so dangerous an attempt, was abandoned to his own fortune; which might convince him, that he now was, what he ever would be, only the occasional tool of their politics, not the real object of their care.



CHAPTER V.

The retreat of the REBELS from STIRLING to INVERNESS; and their success, and dispositions, in the NORTH. The pursuit of the REBELS by the Duke of CUMBERLAND. The battle of CULLODEN; and the suppression of the REBELLION.

THE defeat of Lieutenant General Hawley at Preston-Pans, instead of discouraging the government, served only to render it more assiduous and attentive for the national preservation, in providing more effectual means for the immediate extinction of so dangerous a flame. The Dutch troops, from their restriction of performing any military service, were re-embarked at Newcastle, on the 27th of December, and re-conducted back to Williamstadt, in Holland; where

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where the 6,000 Hessians in British pay were assembling, from Antwerp, to embark for Scotland, on board the same transports in which the Dutch had returned: but though the Hessians were daily expected to land in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, yet their arrival was thought insufficient to eradicate the rebellion, with that celerity as was requisite, both for the general interest of Europe, and the domestic tranquillity of Britain: a resolution was, therefore, taken to make such an augmentation of the national forces in Scotland, as might secure the kingdom from any apprehensions of the consequences of such an intestine commotion, in case the rebels should grow more numerous, or the French and Spaniards persist in their design of attempting an invasion: it was also necessary to set a general of the highest estimation at the head of the army, one whose presence might re-animate the dejected spirit of the soldiers, extinguish all animosities, encourage the well affected inhabitants of Scotland, and strike terror to the vain and insolent rebels: no commander was thought more proper for this important duty than His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland; the service of his country, the protection of the protestant succession, the happiness of his family, and his own glory, all summoned his royal highness to complete what he had already so gloriously begun; all contributed to rouse his martial ardour, and he eagerly flew to re-appear at the head of those brave veterans, whose courage he had seen nobly manifested in the fatal battle of Fontenoy.

His royal highness set out from London, on the 25th of January, about one in the morning, attended by Lord Cathcart, Lord Bury eldest son

son to the Earl of Albemarle, Colonel Conway, CHAP.
and Colonel York, his aids de camps, and travelled V.
with such surprizing expedition that he made his
arrival at Edinburgh on the 30th, to the uni- 1746.
versal joy of the army, and the general satisfac-
tion of the inhabitants: the soldiers were so ani-
mated by his appearance, that they shewed the
most earnest desire of recovering their late dis-
grace; nor did his royal highness suffer their
laudable zeal to abate, but, as the expected na-
tional reinforcements were arrived, and every
thing was in excellent order for the march, he
immediately gave the necessary directions for
putting the troops in motion, with a resolution
to raise the siege of Stirling Castle; which the
rebels were still ineffectually attempting to re-
duce. The army, now assembled under the
command of the Duke of Cumberland, con-
sisted of twelve squadrons, and fourteen battali-
ons, composed of the regiments of dragoons
commanded by Major-General St George, Mar-
shal Cobham, Lord Mark Ker, Colonel Naizon
who succeeded Colonel Legonier, and Major-
General Hamilton, with the new regiment of
horse raised by the Duke of Kingston; the bat-
talions were made up with the regiments of
Howard, Barrel, Wolfe, Scotch Fuzileers,
Blakeney, Cholmondeley, Fleming, Monro,
Battreseau, late Legonier, Price, Sempill, Pulte-
ney, and the second battalion of the Royal Scots;
besides the Argyllshire Highlanders under Colo-
nel Campbell: but the regiments were all of
them greatly diminished, and some of them not
above half complete: the Duke of Cumberland
was assisted by the Earl of Albemarle, and
Henry Hawley, Esq; as Lieutenant-Generals;
the

PART the Major-Generals Bland, Huske, and Lord
VII. Sempill; and Brigadier Mordaunt.

THE Duke of Cumberland marched from
1746. Edinburgh, on the 31st of January, with the
army, in two columns; consisting of all the foot,
and the dragoons of Cobham and Ker: the same
night he took up his quarters at Linlithgow, with
eight battalions; while Brigadier Mordaunt,
with six others, lay at Borrowstonefs; the dra-
goons were posted in the adjacent villages; and
Colonel Campbell, with the Argyllshire men,
took post in the front of the army, towards the
Avon. A considerable body of the rebels were
then at Falkirk, and some of them appeared on
the hills, between that place and Linlithgow;
so that the Duke of Cumberland expected that
the rebels, flushed with their late success, would
have given him an opportunity of finishing this
affair at once: but on resuming the march, the
next morning, his royal highness had intelligence
that the rebels had abandoned the siege, and
were actually repassing the Forth, with all ima-
ginable diligence; and this information was
soon afterwards confirmed by a violent dispoſition,
like the blowing up of magazines, which was
distinctly heard by the royal army: this occa-
sioned the Duke of Cumberland to detach Briga-
dier Mordaunt, with the two regiments of dra-
goons, and the Argyllshire highlanders, to har-
raſs the rebels in their retreat. The brigadier,
with the troops under his command, arrived at
Stirling the ſame evening; where he found the
rebels had abandoned their camp, with all their
artillery, and had blown up their great magazine
in the church of St Ninian, where they had a
ſtore of 6,000 pounds of powder, which they
blew up with ſo little care, or diſcretion, that
the

the two men who fired the train, and several of the country people were buried in the ruins; they also left behind them all the wounded men they had taken prisoners at Falkirk, and about twenty of their own sick men: but it was so late when Brigadier Mordaunt arrived, that it was judged unnecessary to continue the pursuit. The next day, which was the 2d of February, the Duke of Cumberland entered Stirling with the whole army; where he received the compliments of the brave General Blakeney, and his officers; whose services were highly commended by his royal highness, for their gallant defence of such an important fortress. As the bridge of Stirling was destroyed, the royal army was obliged to continue in the town, till the bridge was repaired, which was completed in two days: but the rebels retired with such celerity, that the principal part of their army entered Perth, the very night that Brigadier Mordaunt arrived at Stirling; and though they had made some considerable fortifications for the security of Perth, yet their flight was so precipitate, that they immediately evacuated the town, leaving behind them thirteen pieces of iron cannon nailed up, and throwing a great quantity of ammunition into the river: after which they separated, and continued their march northwards, in three columns; the first, consisting of the clans, under their pretended prince, took their way by Dunkeld, through Athol and Badenoch, towards the shire of Murray; the second, composed of the lowlanders, proceeded, by Coopar of Angus, towards Brechin, under the direction of the Lords Ogilvie and Pitligo; and Lord John Drummond, with the French picquets, and some other corps, kept nearer the eastern coast, taking

PART the road, by Dundee and Montrose, to Aberdeen,
VII. where the second and third columns were to
unite, and then to join the first in the county of
1746. Inverness, with an intention to possess themselves
of that important post.

THE rebels were so politic in all their transactions, that this separation was, at first, looked upon, by the generals of the royal army, as an absolute dispersion; but their real intentions were so much to the contrary, that the rebel chiefs, on their departure from Perth, gave their pretended prince a new demonstration of their invariable attachment, in signing an association, by which they solemnly engaged never to abandon his interest; and, at the same time, the chiefs received the strongest assurances from their leader, that, whatever might be the success of his enterprize, he was determined to die sword in hand, rather than desist from what he had undertaken. The rebels were sensible how much their retreat had the resemblance of a flight; they were conscious what an alarm it would occasion among their friends, both at home, and abroad; and they urged a variety of motives to justify their conduct: alledging, that their men were so loaded with booty, that their chiefs were under a necessity of permitting them to carry it home; that they found a great difficulty in subsisting the troops about Stirling; that, by moving northwards, they facilitated the junction of any succours from France, as well as their expected reinforcements from the western coast of Scotland, and the islands of Mull and Sky; that though they had taken upwards of a thousand tents at the battle of Falkirk, yet they could not prevail on the highlanders to make use of them, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, who

choſe rather to lie in the open fields in their uſual CHAP.
manner, which muſt have been extremely preju- V.
dicial to their healths; that, after ſo fatiguing a
campaign, ſome reſceſs was requiſite; and that, 1746.
when they had reſreſhed and recruited their
forces, they would not fail to make another ir-
ruption into the Lowlands, when the rigour of
the ſeaſon was abated. But, whatever were their
pretenſions, it may be more naturally conceived
to be an intention of protracting the war; where,
by drawing it into the highlands, they might
make it extremely onerous, and uneaſy, to the
royal forces; where the rebels might obtain fre-
quent opportunities of harraſſing, and ſurprizing,
their purſuers, and have a fair chance for render-
ing them weary of following the highlanders,
through their natal countries, where they thought
it impoſſible for the royal forces to have maga-
zines, and other requiſites, for ſo conſiderable
an army: in the next place, they perſuaded
themſelves, that by removing the war into the
Highlands, and the report they had ſpread of
the ſeverities that would be inflicted by the Duke
of Cumberland, they muſt keep their men to-
gether, and alſo contribute to make their num-
bers more formidable: they had, beſides theſe,
another reaſon, which was, the giving a fair op-
portunity to the French of attempting an inva-
ſion in the ſouth; which they flattered themſelves
would relieve them from all difficulties: and, to
all this, might be added, that they had formed
a project of making themſelves maſters of the
chain, or line, of fortifications, that run along
the north of Scotland, from Fort William to
Inverneſs; and, thereby, not only ſecure the
country behind them, but afford means for the
French and Spaniards to ſend them reinforce-
ments,

PART ments, and supplies, of which they had hitherto
 VII. large promises, though but slight and ineffectual
 performances.

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THE Duke of Cumberland, who penetrated all their views, took the most effectual methods for defeating them: he arrived at Perth, with his whole army, on the 5th of February; where he immediately gave the necessary orders for erecting magazines, of bread and forage, for the subsistence of the troops; because he intended to continue at Perth, till he had collected a sufficient quantity of provisions, and then to march his army, by different roads, to Aberdeen; where he proposed to fix his head quarters, to raise proper magazines, to receive such succours and supplies, as, from time to time, might be requisite, by sea from the south. His royal highness, on the 8th of February, received intelligence that the Hessians were arrived in the road of Leith, under his brother-in-law Prince Frederic of Hesse, who was accompanied from Holland by the Prince of Hesseburgh, son to the Duke of Wolfembüttel, and by the Earl of Crawford: upon which the Duke of Cumberland set out for Edinburgh, to concert with the Prince of Hesse the most proper measures for disposing of those forces to the best advantage; after which his royal highness returned to Perth, where every thing was preparing for the march: but, before it began, it was necessary to secure the important posts of Stirling and Perth, and command the passage into the Lowlands; for which purpose Sir Andrew Agnew, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Scotch fuzileers, was sent, with a detachment of 500 men, for the security of the castle of Blair, a seat belonging to the Duke of Athol, twenty-four miles north of Perth, a spacious

spacious and strong edifice, more resembling a CHAP.
fortress than a palace: another detachment, of V.
200 men, was also posted at castle Menzies, near
the bridge of Tay, under the command of 1746.
Lieutenant-Colonel Leighton; and, for the sup-
port of these detachments, four battalions of
Hessians were ordered from Edinburgh to Perth,
and two more to Stirling; St George's dragoons
were to be posted at the bridge of Earn, in the
county of Strathern; and those of Hamilton,
and Naizon, at Bannockburn; the whole under
the command of Prince Frederic of Hesse, and
the Earl of Crawford as general of the horse:
and, after concerting these dispositions, the
Duke of Cumberland marched his army from
Perth, on the 20th of February, continuing
his rout, by easy marches, to Aberdeen.

In the mean time, the first column of the
rebels, with the prisoners taken at Falkirk, pur-
sued its march northwards, by Ruthven, into
Badenoch, where the young pretender caused
the barracks to be blown up; and then proceed-
ed to Inverness, expecting but little opposition
from the Earl of Loudon, though he was post-
ed there with 2,000 of the loyal northern clans,
and was making the best dispositions for the de-
fence of Fort George: while the two other co-
lumn united at Aberdeen; where they received
some supplies from France, and a reinforcement
of two troops of dismounted horse, belonging
to the regiment of Fitz James; but by the vigi-
lance of Rear-Admiral Byng, and Commodore
Knowles, who then cruized on the coast, the
Bourbon, and Charite, two other vessels belong-
ing to the same embarkation, were intercepted,
in which were taken the Count de Fitz James,
Major-General, commandant; Major-General

PART Ruth ; the Brigadiers Tyrconnel, Nugent, and

VII. Cook ; Lieutenant-Colonel Cople ; Baron de

Butler ; Major Betagh ; two captains, six lieutenants, five cornets, thirteen quarter masters, six

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gunners, and 360 men. The young pretender,

being joined by some parties from Aberdeenshire,

found his division was augmented to 4,000 men ;

with which, in prosecution of his design, he made it

his primary business to obtain possession of Inver-

ness : his advanced party, on the 16th of Febru-

ary, arrived within four miles of the town ; which,

on the following day, was abandoned by the

Earl of Loudon ; who, finding the town was in-

defensible against their numbers, crossed the Ness,

and got over into the county of Ross, leaving

two independent companies, under Major Grant,

in Fort George, with orders to defend it to the

last extremity : but these orders were disobeyed,

for the fort was unaccountably given up ; though

Major Grant was afterwards tried by a court

martial for abandoning the fort, when he was

adjudged to be dismissed the royal service, and

rendered incapable of ever holding any military

office, or employment, under the government.

The young pretender fixed his head quarters at

Inverness ; cantoning the rest of his troops, which

were now come up from Aberdeen, through the

shire of Murray, as far as the banks of the Spey, a

rapid river separating the counties of Banff and

Murray, about thirty-two miles S. E. of In-

verness ; the rebels exercising great severities,

through all that tract of territory, against all

whom they believed disaffected to their cause ;

and issuing the strictest orders to prevent the

Duke of Cumberland from receiving any intel-

ligence of their affairs. Their success at Inver-

ness, and the news of surprizing some parties of

loyal

loyal highlanders in the neighbourhood of Blair, CHAP.
raised the spirits of the rebels, notwithstanding V.
the badness of their quarters, want of pay, scar-
city of provisions, and other inconveniences; ac-
cordingly they next sent a detachment to attack 1746.

Fort Augustus, a very small place, and only important by its situation between Inverness and Fort William, in which there was a garrison of three companies, belonging to the regiment of Guise, under the command of Major Wentworth; so that it was speedily reduced, and as speedily demolished, which was the same fate that Fort George met with: a clear demonstration that the rebels did not think it necessary to have any garrison in that part of the country.

WHILE the rebels were so successful, the Duke of Cumberland was equally vigilant: the royal army, on the 28th of February, arrived at Aberdeen, where his royal highness was waited on by the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Aberdeen, and Findlater, the Laird of Grant, and several of the northern nobility and gentry, with offers of their service. The duke was very attentive in refreshing, and disciplining, the troops; in providing magazines for their subsistence; and preparing every thing to take the field, when the weather should prove favourable for continuing the march of the troops; who were divided into three cantonments; the whole first line, consisting of six battalions, with the dragoons of Cobham, and Kingston's horse, were at Strathbogie, in Buchan, twelve miles S. E. of the Spey, and thirty-two miles north of Aberdeen, under the command of the Earl of Albemarle, and Major-General Bland: the reserve, consisting of three battalions, were at Old Meldrum, half way between Strathbogie and Aberdeen, under

PART Brigadier-General Mordaunt; and the whole

VII. second line, consisting of the remaining battalions,

— and Ker's dragoons, continued, with the duke, at

1746. Aberdeen. Detachments were sent, on all sides, to scour the country from the rebels, in which they were very successful; though the rebels surrounded, and cut to pieces, a party of seventy loyal highlanders, and thirty of Kingston's horse.

THE rebels were far from being inactive: considerable detachments extended themselves into Athol, and Lochabry; and daily reinforcements, from the disaffected clans, arrived at Inverness. Lord George Murray invested the castle of Blair; but Sir Andrew Agnew gallantly defended it, for seventeen days, till the approach of the Hessian troops obliged the rebels to raise the siege. They were equally unsuccessful in besieging Fort William; which was invested by Brigadier Stapleton, with 1,500 of their best men, most of their French engineers, and as good a train as they could furnish; but Captain Scott, the deputy governor, bravely defended the place for eight days, when he made a brisk sally, and seized one of the rebel batteries: which occasioned Brigadier Stapleton to abandon the siege, after a considerable diminution of his men, and the loss of four brass guns taken at Gladsmuir, besides four iron cannon, and nine mortars. However they were not every where defeated; for the Earl of Loudon, who had been prevented from joining the Duke of Cumberland, was obliged to retire into Sutherland, where he took post near Dornoch, and was reinforced by some companies sent him by the Earl of Sutherland: the proximity of the Earl of Loudon incommoded the rebels, who, on the night of the 19th

of

of March, sent a detachment, of 1,500 men, under the command of the Duke of Perth, to surprize him: the attempt was favoured by a thick fog; the rebels coasted the eastern part of Ross in their boats, and crossed the firth, or æstuary, of Dornoch, where they made four officers, and 160 men, prisoners; and among them Major Mac-Kenzie, who had been long in the Russian service: after which the rebels spread themselves in Sutherland, and obliged the Earl of Loudon to pass over to the isle of Sky, for his greater security. During these various transactions, the young pretender remained at Inverness, with the main body of his army, little expecting an immediate visit from the Duke of Cumberland; imagining that the royal army could not advance farther into the highlands, for want of provisions, and forage: but, in this, the rebels were mistaken; for the Duke of Cumberland was attended by a fleet of victualling transports, who were coasting the shores of Bamf and Murray, in sight of the royal army: however the rebels, by their augmentation, were better prepared for an engagement; since, on the junction of 400 Mac-Intoshes under Lady Mac-Intosh, 100 Mac-Leods assembled by the Earl of Cromarty, and the additional Levies from the respective clans, their strength was now more considerable than had been at any time during the commotion. The rebels would have been more formidable, if the Hazard sloop, to which they had given the name of the Prince Charles snow, had made a safe arrival, with a considerable quantity of money, and a good number of experienced officers, and engineers, from France: but, unfortunately for them, this vessel was pursued by the Sheerness man of war, commanded by Captain Obrien, who, on the

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25th of March, chased her into Tongue Bay, in the northern part of Strathnavern, and immediately attacked her: the Hazard was unable to maintain the engagement, and therefore ran ashore on the shallows, where the Sheerness could not follow her; but it being in the country where the loyal Lord Rea resided, he sent his son, with some other officers, and about eighty men of the regiment belonging to Lord Loudon, who had escaped from the rebels at the attack at Dornoch, to engage those that were landed from the Hazard, who made but little resistance, and surrendered, to the number of 156 officers, soldiers, and sailors; with whom the loyal highlanders embarked on board the Sheerness, and sailed directly for Aberdeen; when it appeared that Colonel Brown was among the prisoners, and about forty other experienced officers, who had been long either in the French, or Spanish, service.

THE royal troops, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, and the fatigues they had endured by making a double campaign, were so well refreshed, and in such excellent order, that they were, every way, fit for service; and they were now augmented by the arrival of Bligh's regiment, by sea, from Edinburgh: the inclemency of the season was abated; and, on the 8th of April, all the divisions of the army were put in motion, to advance towards the rebels; and united at Bamf, on the 10th: the army then proceeded to Fochabers, a village on the Spey, and arrived there on the 12th, where it was expected the rebels would have disputed the passage of the river; but, though 3,000 of their men were on the opposite shore, they withdrew, and quietly permitted the royal army to pass over. The royal

royal forces, having passed the Spey, continued their rout through Elgin to Forres; and, on the 15th, arrived at Nairn, in the county of Inverness; where the Duke of Cumberland made a halt, and received intelligence, that the rebels had collected all their forces together, and were then about nine miles distant, seeming as though they determined to wait for him, and risque an engagement: the information was true; for the young pretender had assembled his army at Culloden house, the seat of Duncan Forbes, Esq; lord president of the session, four miles east of Inverness, where it was intended to oppose the progress of the royal army; they even formed a design of surprizing the royal forces at night, but the vigilance of the Duke of Cumberland, and the strict discipline he maintained, absolutely disappointed them.

THE hour was now approaching to determine all the expectations of the rebels: these principally depended on their personal strength, and dexterity in managing the broad-sword; but the royal forces were properly instructed in a new method of using the bayonet, which rendered the boasted defence of the highland target of little utility, and made the rebels equally vulnerable with other men. On the 16th of April, the royal army decamped from Nairn, at five in the morning, in hopes of coming to an engagement, proceeding in three divisions, of five battalions each; the artillery, and baggage, following the first column on the right, and the cavalry making the fourth column on the left: after they had marched about eight miles, the advanced guards, composed of about forty of Kingston's horse and the highlanders, led on by the Quarter-Master-General Bland, perceived the rebels, at some distance,

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PART tance, making a motion towards them on the
 VII. left; upon which the royal army immediately
 formed; but, finding the rebels did not advance,
 1746. they proceeded half a mile forwards with fixed
 bayonets; and, after passing a morass, came in
 full view of the rebels, who were drawn up, in
 line of battle, behind some huts and old walls,
 on Straghallen moor, near Culloden house.

THE royal army immediately began to form: the front line consisted of the six battalions, of Sinclair, Cholmondeley, Price, Scots Fuziliers, Monro, and Barrel, commanded by the Earl of Albemarle; who had two pieces of cannon planted in all the intermediate spaces between each of the battalions; and the flanks were secured by the two regiments of dragoons, having Cobham's, under Major-General Bland on the right, and Ker's, under the Earl of Ancram, eldest son of the Marquis of Lothian, on the left: the second line was composed of the five battalions of Fleming, Wolfe, Legonier, Sempill, and Bligh, under Major-General Huske; so disposed as to front the openings of the first line, with three pieces of cannon between the exterior battalions of each wing, and those next them: the reserve consisted of the four battalions of Howard, Pulteney, Batterseau, and Blakeney, led by Brigadier-General Mordaunt; having Kingston's horse, equally disposed, on either flank: and the Argyllshire highlanders were posted to guard the baggage: which was one of the most prudent dispositions the mind of man was capable of contriving; because, if one column failed, a second supported; and, if that failed, a third was ready: the rebels could no way take two pieces of cannon, but three must play directly upon them; nor break one regiment but two were ready to supply the place.

The

The front of the rebel army was formed by the clans, in thirteen divisions, under their respective chiefs; upon the right of all were about forty of the principal gentlemen, who dismounted themselves because of the difference between their horses and the dragoons; the Athol men, being 500, were the next on the right, the next were the Mac-Laughlans 150, the Camerons of Lochiel 600, the Steuarts of Appin 200, the Steuarts of Gardentilly 300, the Frasers of Lovat 500, the Mac-Intoshes 400, the Chisholms 150, the Farquharsons 300, the Gordons of Glenbuck-et 300, the Mac-Innons 200, the Mac-Cleods of Razza 300, the Mac-Cleans 100, the Mac-Donalds of Clanronald 250, the Mac-Donalds of Keppoch 300, the Mac-Donalds of Glengary 400; in all 4,990; having four pieces of cannon placed before the Farquharsons and Mac-Innons in the center, which was commanded by Lord John Drummond; the right wing by Lord George Murray; and the left by the Duke of Perth: on the right of the second line were posted two battalions of the regiment under Lord Lewis Gordon, consisting of 500 men; next to them were two battalions, consisting of 500 men, commanded by Lord Ogilvie; these were adjoined to the regiment commanded by Lord John Drummond, headed by his cousin Lord Lewis Drummond, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment, and son to the Earl of Melfort, consisting of 500 men; and the remainder on the left, consisting of 500 men, were commanded by the Earl of Kilmarnock, and Colonel Creighton, otherwise Viscount Fraendraith; being 2,000 in all: the three last divisions properly forming the second line, because the first division was posted in Cul-loden

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loden park, to prevent the royal forces from breaking down the wall, and flanking the rebels. Behind the second line were posted all the rebel horse, including his body guards, Pittligo's squadron, and the squadron lately commanded by the Earl of Kilmarnock, but now by the Viscount Strathallan, all of them making a body of no more than 150 men, headed by their pretended prince; the whole force of the rebels consisting of 7,140 men: this was the actual situation of the rebels on the day of battle; though another plan, of a very different nature, has been frequently taken for the real disposition of those forces; but that was the disposition in which the rebels were drawn up the day before the battle, when they expected the Duke of Cumberland would then march and attack them.

WHEN the royal army advanced within 500 yards of the rebels, the Duke of Cumberland found the morass upon his right was ended, which left the right flank quite uncovered to the rebels; because Lieutenant-General Hawley, and Major-General Bland, had before taken Cobham's dragoons from the right to Ker's on the left, on a presumption that the right wing was entirely secure, and with an intention to fall upon the right flank of the rebels: this occasioned his royal highness immediately to order Kingston's horse from the reserve, and a squadron of Cobham's which had been patrolling, to cover that flank, and the regiment of Pulteney was ordered from the reserve to the right of the royals. When this alteration was made in the disposition of the royal army, it was almost one o'clock; and about half an hour after was spent in trying which of the two armies should gain the flank of the other. The Duke of Cumberland having sent
Lord

Lord Bury forward, within 100 yards of the rebels, to reconnoitre somewhat that appeared like a battery, the rebels thereupon immediately began firing their cannon; which was extremely ill served and ill pointed, and did little execution: The firing was instantly returned by the royal army, and the grape shot made such terrible havoc amongst the thick and deep lines of the rebels, that open lanes appeared through most of their ranks: this put the rebels in the utmost confusion; they dreaded every disposition of the artillery; they disliked this way of fighting; and, therefore, made a push on the right of the royal army, where the Duke of Cumberland personally waited to receive them at the head of Cholmondeley's regiment. The left wing of the rebels came running down, in their wild and desperate manner, three several times within 100 yards of the right wing of the royal army, firing their pistols, and brandishing their swords; but the royals, and Pulteney's, hardly took their muskets from their shoulders; so that, after these faint attempts to draw the royal army forwards, the rebels made off, and bent their whole force on the left, of the royal army, where their right somewhat outflanked Barrel's regiment, and where they discharged all their fury: this was perceived by Major-General Huske, who immediately ordered the regiments of Bligh and Sempill to advance, from the second line, and fire upon those who had outflanked Barrel's, which soon repulsed them; while the regiments of Barrel and Monro, were briskly engaged with their bayonets, in the front, where they did incredible slaughter, each man, according to instruction, directing his bayonet to his right hand man of the rebels, instead of pushing to the man directly opposite;

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posite; a method meritorious of being registered among the brightest military inventions; for the rebels, whose ideas extended no farther than to become offensive, never thought of the defensive; they never considered while they lifted up their broadswords with their right arms, how open they exposed their sides to receive the mortal stroke from the bayonets. The rebels so obstinately rushed on their deaths, that there was scarce an officer or soldier in Barrel's regiment, or in that part of Monro's which engaged, who did not kill one or two men each with their bayonets and spontoons, which were most of them bent with the violence of the thrusts: in the mean time the royal cannon kept a continual fire with cartridge shot, and strewed the ground with carcases: but though the rebels were intimidated at this scene of destruction, their commanders, still riding through their lines, kept forcing them down, so that the regiments of Barrel and Monro, were obliged to make an opening to let them pass; and then, closing their ranks, some battalions of the rebels were miserably put to death, between the front and second lines of the royal army. To complete the total destruction of the rebels, Lieutenant-General Hawley with the dragoons, and some loyal highlanders, advanced about on the left, and broke down the park wall which flanked the rebels right wing, where they defeated the rebel detachment; the dragoons then came down on the rear of the centre column of the second line of the rebels, where they made a prodigious slaughter: Kingston's horse, about the same time, wheeled off from the right of the royal army, pierced through the left wing of the rebels front line, and penetrated to the centre column of their
second

second line, where they attacked that column in front, while the dragoons were attacking the rear : this occasioned a dreadful carnage ; the royal cavalry soon dispersed the rebel reserve ; the clans were entirely surrounded ; the royal infantry was close on their front, the cavalry advancing on their rear ; and, thus, hemmed in, they perished in heaps, unassisted by the French, who never fired a shot. It was now two o'clock ; the rebels had maintained the engagement for thirty-five minutes ; they had fought desperately ; and were now obliged to disperse in a general confusion : precipitate was the flight, close the pursuit, and terrible the slaughter ; for the Earl of Ancram was ordered to pursue with the cavalry as far as he could, who did it so effectually, that both the field of battle, and the road to Inverness, for four miles, were covered with mangled or dead bodies ; and the slaughter was so undistinguished, that many of the inhabitants of Inverness, who came out of curiosity to see the battle, being in the highland dress, were indiscriminately put to the sword among the fugitive rebels.

THE rebels had about 1,000 men killed and wounded, upon the field of battle, and in the pursuit ; and 326 were taken prisoners ; besides 222 French, who surrendered themselves prisoners, at Inverness, to Major-General Bland : Lord Strathallan fell among the slain of the rebels, with the chief of the Mac-Laughlans, Mac-Donald of Keppoch, Colonel Mac-Gillewary who headed the Mac-Intoshes, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Frasers, and about fifty other officers ; and the Earl of Kilmarnock, Colonel Farquharson, Sir John Wedderburn, Colonel Ker, Major Steuart, Major Mac-Laughlan, and

PART many other officers were immediately taken :
 VII. among the French, who surrendered at Inver-
 ~~~~~ ness were; Brigadier Stapleton, Lord Lewis  
 1746. Drummond, Colonel Mac-Donell, the Marquis  
 de Guilles, and thirty-nine other officers, who  
 were conducted to Carlisle, with several of the  
 rebels: the rebels had twenty-two pieces of can-  
 non, eight swivels, and 2,320 firelocks, taken ;  
 besides all their colours and ammunition. The  
 royal army had sixty men killed, and 280 wound-  
 ed ; among the former was Lord Robert Kerr,  
 Captain in Barrell's regiment, but no other per-  
 son of distinction was either among the dead or  
 wounded.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle, the rebels  
 retreated in the utmost confusion ; but, on the  
 day following, about 2,000 of the highlanders  
 assembled at Fort Augustus, and the lowlanders  
 at Ruthven in Badenoch, where they continued  
 to know the resolution of their pretended prince,  
 who gave them orders to disperse, and every  
 man to shift for himself, which they dreaded  
 worse than another battle. While the rebels  
 were dispersing, the royal army proceeded to  
 Inverness, and several detachments were sent into  
 the disaffected parts of the country, to destroy  
 the rebels habitations, and plunder their estates :  
 a great number of the fugitive rebels were kil-  
 led, or taken ; but most of the principal officers  
 found means to accomplish their escape, on  
 board two French men of war, who came, for  
 that purpose, to the coast of Arisaig ; among  
 which was the Duke of Perth, who died in the  
 voyage, Colonel Sullivan, and Sir Thomas She-  
 ridan : however the young pretender sustained  
 an innumerable variety of hardships before he  
 could effect his escape ; though he continually  
 eluded

cluded the most vigilant search of the royal army till the 3d of September, when a privateer, from St Maloes, delivered him from his melancholy situation, by carrying him to France, with Cameron of Lochiel, Mac-Donald of Barisdale, Steuart of Ardshield, and some other of his principal adherents. About the same time that the whole forces of the rebels were vanquished at Culloden, the Earl of Cromartie, Lord Mac-Cleod his eldest son, some other officers, and 150 men, were taken at Dunrobin Castle in Sutherland, by a part of militia of that country, and conducted to Inverness. The Marquis of Tullibardine, Lord Balmerino, and Secretary Murray, soon after surrendered themselves, in different parts of the country: Lord Lovat, and his son, were taken; the Earl of Kellie delivered himself up, in obedience to the act of attainder; and the Earl of Traquair was also imprisoned. The Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earl of Cromartie, the Earl of Kilmarnock, Lord Balmerino, and Lord Lovat, were sent to London, and confined in the tower: some of the rebel officers were also sent to London, and distributed in several goals; others were confined at Carlisle, and others at York.

THE rebellion being thus happily extinguished, tranquility was again restored to the loyal part of the nation, ushered in by the loudest acclamations of a grateful people to the royal commander who had thus crushed the envenomed Hydra, that threatened the destruction of the whole community: congratulatory addresses were presented to his majesty, by both houses of parliament, and from all parts of his dominions, on this happy occasion: the lords and commons ordered their public thanks to be trans-

PART VII. mitted, by their respective speakers, to his royal highness, for the great and eminent services, performed, by him, to his majesty, and his

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kingdoms, against the rebels: they also passed a bill to settle the additional revenue of 25,000*l.* a year on his royal highness, chargeable on the aggregate fund, as an augmentation to his former annual revenue of 15,000*l.* payable out of the civil list. The Hessian troops were re-conducted back to Holland; and the Duke of Cumberland issued a proclamation for disarming such of the clans, as refused to surrender themselves: a camp was established at Fort Augustus, from whence several detachments were sent to depopulate and ruin the rebellious country; where the devastation was so great, that, for the space of fifty miles, neither house, man, nor beast, was to be seen; which was the entire subjugation of this fierce and intractable people, whom neither the Romans, nor Saxons, could reduce; and who had often bid defiance to their native kings.

It was now necessary that those who had violated their fidelity, and allegiance, to their sovereign, and involved their country in such calamity, and confusion, should expiate their crimes by satisfying the demands of national justice. An act of attainder was passed against most of the principal persons concerned in the rebellion; whereby the several persons therein named were to stand attainted of high treason, unless they surrendered themselves on, or before, the 12th of July 1746: nor was the interposition of M. Van Hoey, the Dutch minister at Paris, of any consequence; it rather irritated the government against the unhappy victims, and several were brought to justice. A

court



court was opened at St Margaret's Hill South-CHAP.  
wark, and several were tried: on the 30th of V.  
July, Colonel Townley, Counsellor Morgan, and seven other rebel officers, belonging to the Manchester regiment, and taken at Carlisle, were executed at Kennington common: on the 23d of August three highland officers suffered at the same place; as also did Sir John Wedderburn, John Hamilton the deputy-governor of the castle of Carlisle, and three others, on the 28th of November: some were reprieved, and a great number transported. The rebels tried at Carlisle, were 146; of which ninety-one received sentence of death, twenty-six were acquitted, and twenty-nine discharged, having no bills found against them: of those convicted at Carlisle, Thomas Cappoch the titular Bishop of Carlisle, and eight others, were executed, on the 18th of October, at Harraby gallows, near that city: six suffered at Brompton, and seven at Penrith. At York seventy rebels were convicted; and, on the 1st of November, Capt. Hamilton, and nine others were executed; and twelve others afterwards underwent the same fate; all the rest being either pardoned, or transported to America.

THE Marquis of Tullibardine died soon after his confinement in the tower; but the grand jury for the county of Surry found bills of indictment for high treason against the Earls of Cromartie and Kilmarnock, and Arthur Lord Balmerino: though the house of lords directed a writ of certiorari to be issued for bringing the indictments before the house, who also appointed a committee to consider of the methods for bringing these delinquent noblemen to a trial. Soon after his majesty nominated Philip Lord

Hardwicke, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, to the dignity of Lord High Steward, on this occasion; and the accused peers, being allowed council, and whatever was necessary for their defence, were, on the 8th of July, brought up, and arraigned in Westminster Hall, which was fitted up with the greatest solemnity, on so melancholy an occasion: the two earls pleaded guilty; and Lord Balmerino did the same, after pleading an exception to the indictment, which was overruled: on the 1st of August the three lords received sentence of death: the Earl of Cromartie, who had been receiver-general of North Britain for his majesty, was recommended, by several of the nobility, to the royal clemency; the melancholy situation of this unhappy peer, who had involved an affectionate wife, his eldest son, eight innocent children, and an unborn infant, as parties of his guilt, to share the punishment before they knew the crime of their father, deserved as much commiseration as ever man did in the same circumstances; this past the bitter cup from him; and his majesty, touched with the calamities of this unhappy family, graciously pardoned both the father, and the son: but the Earl of Kilmarnock, and Lord Balmerino, were both executed, on the 18th of August, on Tower Hill: the Earl of Kilmarnock was in the forty-second year of his age, he had been bred in revolutionary principles, which he manifested, on the scaffold, a few moments before his death, by concluding a short prayer with a petition for the preservation of his majesty King George, and the royal family; his deportment shewed him penitentially sensible of the nature of his crime, and he behaved with such decency, and composure, as excited a general pity

pity from the spectators: Lord Balmerino was in his fifty-eighth year, and discovered such surprising resolution and intrepidity, as plainly demonstrated he acted on principle; for, just before he put his head to the block, he said, to a gentleman who stood near him, "Perhaps some  
" may think my behaviour too bold; but remember, Sir, that I now declare it is the effect of confidence in God, and a good conscience; and I should dissemble if I shewed  
" any signs of fear."

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CHARLES RATCLIFFE, Esq; brother to the late unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater, and who had assumed the title, was the next sacrifice to national justice: this gentleman was engaged in the former rebellion of 1715, for which he was convicted and sentenced to die; but made his escape out of Newgate; and, after passing some years in France and Italy, married the Countess of Newburgh, at Paris, by whom he left several children. He was taken in the Soliel, as he was going over to Scotland; and, on the 22d of November, was arraigned at the bar of the court of king's bench at Westminster, on his former sentence; where the identity of his person was proved to the satisfaction of the court, who made a rule for his execution, in pursuance of his former sentence, which was executed, on the 8th of December, when this unfortunate gentleman, in the fifty-third year of his age, was beheaded on Tower Hill, where he died a roman catholic, behaving with perfect composure, and serenity, of mind.

SIMON Lord Fraser of Lovat was the last public example, that perished, on the scaffold, a victim to his offended king and country. This nobleman, though the most artful and secret,



**PART** was the most inveterate enemy to that govern-  
**VII.** ment which had shewn him many distinguishing  
 marks of favour: the house of commons exhib-  
 1746. itted an impeachment against him, and ap-  
 pointed several managers to carry on the prose-  
 cution; upon which he was brought to trial, on  
 the 9th of March 1747, in Westminster Hall,  
 where the Lord Chancellor again officiated as  
 Lord High Steward: after six days trial he was  
 proved to have maintained a long and treason-  
 able correspondence abroad, for fomenting the  
 rebellion; of obtaining a commission, from the  
 pretender, of General of the Highlands, and a  
 ducal patent by the title of Duke of Fraser; of  
 countenancing, and advising, the principal per-  
 sons in the rebellion, furnishing them with arms  
 and ammunition, and sending his son with his  
 clan to their assistance: he received sentence of  
 death on the 19th of March; and, on the 3d  
 of April, was beheaded on Tower Hill, in the  
 eightieth year of his age, where he met the  
 stroke of justice with all the appearance of for-  
 titude, and unconcern.

**SIR JAMES STEUART** died in confinement; Secretary Murray was not only pardoned for re-  
 vealing all the latent steps of the rebellion, but  
 a pension of 200*l.* a year was granted him by  
 the crown; the Earls of Kellie and Traquair,  
 Sir Hector Mac-Clean, Sir James Kinloch, and  
 several others, were discharged: thus this fatal  
 rebellion was entirely suppressed, and every trace  
 of it happily effaced.



## CHAPTER VI.

Reflections on the state of the  
HIGHLANDERS; of the REBEL-  
LION; and the abolition of all  
the claims of the PRETENDER:  
the measures taken, by the go-  
vernment to civilize the HIGH-  
LANDERS: and the steps for esta-  
blishing the HERRING FISHERY.

**I**F it be difficult to find the time in history CHAP. VI.  
when the Scots marched, without interrup-  
tion, as far as Derby in England; it will be  
equally difficult to find when they were defeated 1746.  
so far in Scotland as Inverness. Insurrections  
against an established government, let them grow  
ever so formidable, if they once meet with a  
stop, a check, a singular disappointment, are  
soon totally suppressed: for the men of artifice,  
and interest, who inveighed others into their  
pernicious purposes, grow mutually jealous; each  
provides for his own security; and the deluded  
multitude, having no support from their superiors  
against misfortune, by fatal and dear experience,  
are brought to a disheartning sight of their own  
folly. Rebellions generally terminate in this  
manner:

PART manner: this was the situation of the unhappy

VII. highlanders after their defeat at Culloden: this  
might convince them of their temerity; and

1746. bring to their memory, that in most of the wars between the English and Scots, when they were separate nations under their respective monarchs, though the latter have been at first successful in their inroads and skirmishes, the power, weight, wealth, and numbers, of the English, have at last prevailed.

THAT the highlanders, still benighted beneath the incumbent gloom of Gothic ignorance, bigotted to all the absurdities of superstition, and groaning under the oppression of their tyrannical chiefs, should be incited to favour the ambitious principles of their rebellious leaders, furnishes little matter of surprize: arts, peace, and plenty, were strangers to their sterile climate; their country had immemorially been the residence of rapine, and indolence: liberty, the divinest blessing of human nature, never beamed her irradiate influence through their servile souls: poverty, and slavery, are the constant attendants of tyranny; these spread an unlimited empire in the highlands, where the inhabitants devoted themselves to the absolute will of their chiefs; and, from the wild and inaccessible rocks, made frequent depredations on the fertile lowlands, watching every opportunity of enriching themselves by the sword: their want inspired courage, and the bravery of their nature prompted them to the most frantic and audacious acts of valour; and, therefore, it is not to be wondered at, that men, unacquainted with the happiness of civil and social laws, should be ready to invade that freedom and property, from which the very na-

ture



ture of the slavish tenures to their despotic lairds, CHAP.  
had absolutely excluded them. VI.

BUT what can be alledged in excuse for those  
inveterate enemies to the British government,  
who knew, felt, and partook, all the felicity of  
that glorious constitution to which they had the  
honour to belong? Charity herself is mute;  
no defence can be pleaded for such execrable men,  
who, stimulated by ambition, avarice, or re-  
venge, would endeavour to subvert a constitution  
which was justly the pride and confidence of its  
friends, the envy of its neighbours, the terror of  
its enemies, and the admiration of mankind.  
Happy nation! the nurse of heroes, the school  
of sages, the seminary of holy martyrs, the  
distinguished favourite of heaven; alas! how  
momentary are all these blessings, when freedom  
is once separated and divorced from virtue? Was  
this happy constitution to be subverted to the  
will of an arbitrary prince, the dismal effects of  
it would be felt by the remotest nations; so that  
a rebel to this government, is a traitor to all  
mankind. When it is considered that Britain  
has the distinguished glory of being the reposi-  
tory of civil and religious freedom, for the rest  
of the human species, the whole universe might  
shudder at the apprehension of her return to  
tyranny and superstition; for while the inhabi-  
tants of Britain continue faithful to this import-  
ant trust, there are still hopes that the degenera-  
ted inhabitants of the earth, may, some time or  
other, catch the noble fire of liberty, and vin-  
dicate their ravaged, and now long forgotten,  
birthright: but, in the destruction of British free-  
dom, liberty itself expires, and human nature  
despairs of ever recovering its native dignity.  
What could so justly rouse the indignation of a  
free

PART free Briton, as the insolence of attempting to

VII. impose upon so powerful a nation, a servile, tri-

butary tyrant, every way excluded from the

1746. royal inheritance; a pretender to that kingdom which he must necessarily make a despicable province to France, a servile warehouse to Spain, and a still pilfered patrimony to Rome? What could so soon awaken the sense of honour and resentment in the breast of every uncorrupted Briton, as to see Spain, whose impotency they had long despised; and France, who they had never failed to chastise, daring to attempt the dethroning of the illustrious line of Brunswic; a family raised, by providence, for head of the protestant interest abroad; and appointed, by a willing people, the protector of British liberty at home? The very thought of so amazing a dishonour should cover England with confusion.

No longer let the vile adherents to an abjured pretender, presume to continue insidious declarations in his favour: waiving the suspicions of a spurious birth, is not both he, and all his progeny, solemnly, and, for ever, absolutely excluded from every pretence of inheritance, by the grand council of the nation, to which every individual is supposed to have given his assent? Let his artful emissaries no longer employ their abilities in expounding the nature of an infeasible and divine right; if all previous agreements, stipulations, and laws, are made insignificant by that pernicious and adulatory doctrine of non-resistance, it is absolutely incompatible with the laws of Britain, and the rights of Britons; these cannot be arbitrarily invaded, nor the constitution and government openly attacked without a right of opposition: the doctrine of non-resistance is inconsistent with nature, reason, and

and the very institution of monarchy ; it reduces freedom to slavery ; and, under the specious and gilded pretence of the divine rights of princes, cheats those that were antecedently free of the privilege both of law and nature. No longer let those who act under the protestant establishment, and yet pretend to dispute for an absolute hereditary right, quiet themselves with arguments borrowed from popery ; no longer let them teach their own consciences the art of dispensing with the most solemn oath to the government, nor think themselves bound only till opportunity shall serve to introduce another : the protestant succession stands in no need of such detestable prevarication ; honour and affection calls every well wisher of his country, without the solemnity of an oath, to defend such an establishment ; to which they are incited by every motive that can influence the mind of man ; and, whatever may befall the glory and wealth of Britain, thousands, and thousands, will struggle, to the last drop of their blood, for its religion and liberties.

No more let the false insinuation be spread, that the sons of the pretender have been educated in the protestant religion : time has detected the imposture : has not the pretended Duke of York discovered the whole absurdity ? yes, the Pope has created him a cardinal, and made a nomination of as many ecclesiastical benefices, in his favour, as bring in the annual revenue of 50,000 crowns. Let this eternally stop every pretension of that nature ; let this make it remembered that such have been the perpetual artifices of popish princes to pave their way to protestant thrones ; and let it perpetuate to protestants, the act of Pope Clement XI. where his holiness declares, “ All promises whatsoever, or  
“ stipu-

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PART " stipulations, made in favour of protestants,

VII. " to be utterly null and void, whenever they

~~~~~ " are prejudicial in any manner to the catholic

1746. " faith, the salvation of souls, or to any rights

" of the church; even though such engage-

" ments have been often ratified, and confirmed,

" by oath."

THE great Roman historian delivers it as his opinion, " That a perturbed liberty is preferable to a tranquil servitude;" but if a popish prince once ascends the British throne, all the quiet that can be expected from such a reign, must be the result of absolute power on the one hand, and a despicable slavery on the other. There is not any one particular benefit, which either the pretender himself, or the favourers of his cause, can promise to the British nation, from the success of his pretensions; though the evils which would arise from it are innumerable, and evident: were it possible for the pretender to accomplish his designs there could not be a more uneasy prince, nor a more unhappy people: there can be no greater absurdity than to imagine the quiet of a nation can arise from an establishment, in which the king should be of one communion, and the people of another; especially when the religion of the sovereign carries in it the utmost malignity to that of the subject; and this is corroborated not only by the reign of James II. but also from a parallel instance in Sweden, the only protestant kingdom in Europe, besides Great Britain, which has had the misfortune to see popish princes upon the throne; and the Swedes behaved to their King Sigismund, who attempted to introduce the Roman catholic religion among his subjects, in the same manner as the British nation did to James II. for

Sigif-

Sigismond was deposed by the states of Sweden, CHAP. VI.
and represented as one who could neither be held by oaths nor promises, and overruled by influence of his religion, which dispenses with the violation of the most sacred engagements that are opposite to its interests. Should the chain of the protestant succession be once broken in upon, France, in failure of one pretender, has, in her quiver, a succession of them: if the pretender and his family were once laid aside, the house of Savoy, and several princes of the Bourbon line, all papists, might be enabled to demand preference to the house of Hanover; so that, besides the probability of Britain being united to, and made a province of France, the train of popish princes is so great, that if one should not complete the utter extirpation of the religion, laws, and liberties of Britain, the rest would certainly do it: therefore it cannot be too often inculcated into the minds of Britons, and protestants, that if there can be any political maxims which may be depended upon as sure and infallible, this is one, "That it is impossible for a nation to be happy, where a people of the reformed religion, are governed by a popish sovereign; who, if he is sincere in the principles of his church, must treat heretical subjects as that church directs him, because he ceases to be religious, when he ceases to be a persecutor." And how far persecution is countenanced by the Romish church is evident from the title of the catholic king, granted, by the Pope, to Ferdinand King of Spain, for instituting the diabolical inquisition, by which mankind is subjected to the most cruel and ignominious tortures at the will of a tyrannical prince,

and testimony to the same, in the year 1746.
belling

PART or popish priest; and by which judgment is
 VII. impiously wrested from the hand of heaven.

1746.

LET such considerations contribute to the total deprivation of the minutest claim, to the British throne, by a fugitive pretender; who may now be convinced of the impossibility of ever accomplishing his wishes; and his adherents may rest satisfied that all their attempts, to dethrone the house of Hanover, are vain and ineffectual, especially since the government has turned its attention to the civilizing the uncivilized highlanders, abolishing their slavish tenures, improving their lands, and introducing among them the knowledge of property, and the benefits of commerce.

RELIGION, liberty, and property, are the great incitements to industry, good neighbourhood, and submission to the laws; and if these were established in the highlands of Scotland, the arts of peace would flourish in this uncultivated tract, and the blessings derived from thence would soon diffuse themselves to the great improvement of that country, in manners, traffic, and wealth. The legislature was thoroughly sensible that some salutary measures, of the lenient kind, would make the rapacious and indolent highlanders shake off their habitual sloth, and struggle for a share in the same advantages of freedom with their fellow subjects; and, when they were convinced of the true value of liberty, the arts of designing men would be unable to seduce them to forfeit a lasting happiness for chimerical expectations: but it was necessary, in the first place, to prohibit the continuance of the highland dress; which was justly regarded as a badge of their ancient bondage; and, therefore, on the 12th of August 1746, an act of parliament was passed,

passed, " For the more effectual disarming the
" highlands of Scotland, and for the more ef-
" fectual securing the peace of the said high-
" lands, and for restraining the use of the high-
" land dress;" which, by another act, passed
on the 13th of May 1748, was ordered not
to be worn after the 25th of December follow-
ing.

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As the highlanders had been perpetually ac-
customed to pay an implicit obedience to their
lairds, whom they ignorantly esteemed to be the
greatest men upon earth; it was necessary to ef-
fect the abolition of their shameful vassalage, the
principal source of all their rebellious commo-
tions: especially as it has always been the des-
tructive policy of the highland chiefs, to keep
their clans, from age to age, in idleness and ig-
norance, being perfectly apprized, that know-
ledge and trade, by opening the eyes of their
slaves, and reducing them to the delicious ban-
quet of property, would be naturally followed by
independence. Accordingly, on the 17th of
June 1747, an act of parliament was passed;
" For taking away, and abolishing, the hereta-
" ble jurisdictions in Scotland, and making sa-
" tisfaction to the proprietors; and for restoring
" such jurisdictions to the crown; and for making
" more effectual provision for the administration
" of justice, throughout that part of the united
" kingdom, by the king's courts and judges
" there; and for rendering the union more
" complete." At the same time another act
was passed, " For taking away the tenure of
" ward-holding in Scotland, and for converting
" the same into blanch, and feu holdings, and
" for regulating the casualty of non-entry in cer-
" tain cases; and for taking away the casualties

PART “ of single and life-rent escheats incurred there,
 VII. “ by horning and denunciation for civil causes ;

“ and for giving to heirs, and successors, there,
 1746. “ a summary process against superiors ; and

“ for discharging the attendance of vassals at
 “ head courts there ; and for ascertaining the
 “ service of tenants there ; and for allowing
 “ heirs of tailzie, there, to sell lands to the
 “ crown for erecting buildings, and making
 “ settlements in the highlands.” Another act

was also passed, the same day, “ For vesting the
 “ forfeited estates of certain traitors in his ma-
 “ jesty, and bringing into the exchequer the
 “ rents and profits thereof ; and giving relief
 “ to the lawful creditors, and claimants there-
 “ on.” And, at the same time, his majesty passed

an act of grace, or general pardon, to all the
 persons concerned in the rebellion, excepting
 eighty-eight, therein particularly excluded from
 the benefit of this act : his majesty, just before
 the signing of it, declaring, “ That after the

“ examples of justice, which had been found
 “ necessary, he had with pleasure taken the
 “ very first opportunity of doing what was most
 “ agreeable to his own inclination, the passing an

“ act of grace : that the good effect he pro-
 “ mised himself from hence was, to heal, in
 “ some measure, those wounds which had been
 “ made, and re-establish the quiet of the king-

“ dom ; since, by this act, the generality of
 “ those who had been deluded from their duty,
 “ would find themselves restored to security,
 “ and to the protection of those laws, which

“ they had endeavoured to subvert : hoping,
 “ that a just sense of this early mercy, would
 “ induce them to make such returns of loyalty
 “ and gratitude, as so strong an obligation re-

“ quired.” The bill for taking away the heretable jurisdictions was strongly petitioned against by the Duke of Queensberry, and the Earls of March, and Eglington; however this considerable change in the constitution of the northern parts of Scotland was happily effected: the chiefs, who were claimants for their jurisdictions, which consisted of regalities, justiciaries, sheriffalties, stewarties, baillairies, office of forester, and water bailly, coroner, or clerkships, were nine dukes, three marquisses, thirty-eight earls, three viscounts, seven barons, fourteen baronets, and eighty-two others, who valued their privileges at the sum of 602,127*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* alledging that they had been exercised for the benefit of the country, and were of so great honour and consequence to their families, that they should not voluntarily have parted with them under the sum demanded, which they hoped would be granted: but, as this calculation seemed to be extravagantly made, a reference was ordered to the lords of session in Scotland, to ascertain the real value; who, on the 12th of April 1748, reported that the sum of 152,237*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* might, in their opinion, be given for the purchase of those heretable privileges; which was accepted, and paid.

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IRELAND was formerly subjected to the same servile tenures as the highlands of Scotland, which occasioned a general scene of poverty, and misery, throughout the country: but the suppression of those tenures was seasonably attempted by Sir Henry Sydney, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, under Queen Elizabeth; who, during the course of his wise and vigorous administration, made a progress through the several provinces of the kingdom, and afterwards reported

PART to the English ministry, " That he heard such

VII. " lamentable cries, and doleful complaints,

~ " made by the small remain of poor people,

1746. " which were then left, who hardly escaping the

" fury of the sword and fire of their outrageous

" neighbours, or the famine which their ex-

" tortious lords had driven them unto, either by

" taking their goods from them, or by spending

" the same by their riotous exaction of coyne and

" livery, made demonstration of the miserable

" state of the country. His excellency also in-

" formed the ministry, that surely never did

" people live in more misery than the Irish did,

" nor as it should seem of worse minds; for

" matrimony amongst them was no more regard-

" ed, in effect, than conjunction between un-

" reasonable beasts; perjury, robbery, and mur-

" der, were counted allowable; that he could

" not find they made any conscience of sin; he

" doubted whether they christened their chil-

" dren or no; and when they died, he could

" not see they made any account of the world

" to come: all which, the lord-deputy observed,

" was for lack of reverence to her majesty's

" name, obedience to her laws, and evil dispo-

" sitions of the people." His excellency, there-

" fore, in 1567, concerted the removal of these

" oppressive calamities; he abolished the tenures

" of the poor inhabitants to their lords and chief-

" tains; the people framed themselves daily to be

" more menable, and better given to embrace ci-

" vility by the planting of justice more universally

" amongst them, especially in the remoter parts;

" and the whole country was so amazingly civilized,

" under the direction of Sir Henry Sydney, that, as

" his excellency reported to the queen, " The in-

" habitants, so far exceeded their ancestors they

" might

“ might be thought rather to be another, and CHAP.
“ a new people, than descendants of the old.” VI.

Since that time the inhabitants of Ireland have been sensible of the blessings of society, liberty, and law; and, were they freely indulged in the toleration of exercising their commercial interest, no people would shine with more opulence and lustre. If such improvements have accrued to the Irish nation, reasonably may it be expected that Scotland, under the same, or better advantages, will be more speedily, more beneficially civilized; especially as they have the privileges of Britons, and may be easily converted to some of the most valuable members of the community. 1746.

THE discontinuance of the antient superstitious dress of the Highlanders, and the abolition of the heretable jurisdictions of their chiefs, was the first step to obtain the important end of civilizing the rude inhabitants; of converting them, from enemies to society, to be valuable members of the community; and, instead of suffering them to continue as the pests of tranquility, to make them guardians of the laws, assertors of the liberty, and protectors of the happiness of their country. The gloom was rolling off, and dispersing over their heads: what might not be expected from people who were slaves to indolence more through habit and custom, than either the effect of their healthful climate, or natural temperament? Heaven has placed at the door of these Highlanders, the great, valuable, important herring fishery; a more inexhaustible source of wealth, than the mines of Mexico or Peru: the highest probability presented itself of making the inhabitants sensible of their adjacent riches, and of altering them to a

PART laborious and frugal people, by establishing this
 VII. inestimable fishery, which carries annually mil-
 lions to Holland, and would, in a due course of
 1746. industry, bring equal profits to the poor High-
 landers; who, then, would have lands well cul-
 tivated, good houses, warm plantations, and
 plenty would flourish in every part of that waste
 and neglected country; for these are the natural
 result of freedom, under a constitution that glo-
 ries in nourishing, and protecting, all its consti-
 tuents, without distinction.

ANIMATED by the most beneficent motives,
 three worthy members of the house of commons,
 formed the noble resolution of attempting the
 establishment of the British fishery; which, as
 they had the happiness to accomplish, will give
 them unfading honours: because they now
 opened the fountain which promised an inex-
 haustible stream of opulence, to an impoverished
 nation; they formed a perpetual nursery of bold,
 expert, industrious, mariners, to support the na-
 val strength, the pride, and most noble charac-
 teristic of the British nation; and they found the
 only method of giving a laudable employment
 to the wretched Highlanders, an employment
 that must convince them that liberty is the first
 of blessings, and loyalty to the established go-
 vernment their chief interest. Admiral Vernon,
 General Oglethorpe, and Stephen Theodore
 Janssen, Esq; representative for the city of Lon-
 don, were the honourable projectors, and indefati-
 gable promoters, of this grand, this extensive
 benefit to the whole nation in general, but more
 particularly advantageous to the northern inha-
 bitants: such singular emoluments, such a noble
 acquisition of riches, engrossed their whole at-
 tention: through their zeal, and assiduity, the
 senate

senate was, at length, convinced what national CHAP.
profit and utility must be necessarily attendant VI.
on a due establishment, and proper regulation, 1746.
of the herring fishery: the public applauded the
design as highly meritorious; many worthy and
able men ardently wished that so glorious an
undertaking might be put in execution; and the
parliament, at last, indulged their wishes; for,
on the 12th of April 1750, an act was passed,
“For the encouragement of the British white
“herring fishery.”

THE Highlands of Scotland are properly such
parts of the united kingdom, where the inha-
bitants use the Erse, or Irish language; consisting
of the fourteen western islands, the Orkney
isles, and the islands of Shetland; the shires of
Argyll and Lochabyr, on the western coast;
the northern shires of Inverness, Ross, Assynt,
Sutherland, Strathnavern, and Caithness; and
in different places on the eastern coast down to
the shire of Perth. On the north-west coasts of
the highlands of Scotland, is an extensive, and
very certain fishery, from the isle of Lewis to the
isle of Arran: the inhabitants of these islands
have been computed at 40,000; if a fishing
trade was once established among them, the
people that might be expected, on that account,
from the opposite continent, would soon make
them very numerous; and, notwithstanding the
inhabitants are illiterate, they may be as speedily
polished as the Russians were, who, within the
compass of half a century, have made a flourish-
ing figure, though before the reign of Peter the
Great, that mighty empire was totally eclipsed
with Gothic ignorance and barbarity. The
western isles seem as if nature had designed them
for promoting trade, both from the fecundity of

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the fishery, the commodiousness and safety of the numerous bays and harbours, the goodness of their soil, and their plenty of cattle, sheep, wood, water, turf, peat, and salt; besides their situation, which appears advantageous enough; but more particularly for a trade with Denmark, Sweden, Hamburg, and Holland; and, with a favourable wind, they might sail in a week to France and Spain.

THE acquisition of riches, and the increase of naval strength, by means of the herring fishery, often drew the attention of the antient English monarchs; and was so very important an object in the eye of Edward III. that it engrossed the most serious thoughts of that sagacious prince: several of his royal successors entertained the most advantageous idea of this fishery; and the general opinion of the benefits that might accrue from the improvement of this maritime trade, prevailed among considering people in former times to attempt it. King Charles I. in conjunction with a company of merchants, attempted the establishment of the fishery; but it miscarried by the confusion of the civil wars. Charles II. also joined with some merchants, and it succeeded well for a time; but the king, having occasion for money, was advised to withdraw what he had employed in the fishery, which effectually ruined the design: and the attempt has not been renewed since that time, except in 1738, when it was successfully executed by some British merchants, who were obliged to drop their undertaking in despair of being favoured in the salt duties.

ABOUT the beginning of the last century, the French, the Dutch, and the citizens of Embden, Hamburg, and Bremen, employed themselves

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selves so very largely in this trade, as to occasion Sir Walter Raleigh to inform King James, that the fish annually taken by strangers upon the British coasts amounted to above ten millions sterling. Since that time the Dutch have principally engrossed all the profits of the British fishery; and have long been, without a rival, almost monopolizing all the immense wealth arising by this advantageous commerce: in 1688, when their glory was in its meridian, the subjects of the States General amounted to 2,450,000 people; of which 40,000 were employed, with 3,000 busses, or fishing vessels, in the British fishery, and 400,000 on the traffic depending upon this commerce; which gave rise to so many extensive and valuable employments, that there was scarce any sort or condition of people but participated the benefits of this fishery, and the community most of all. It was this fishery that aggrandized the Dutch; their pensionary De Witte has asserted that the inhabitants of the United Provinces formerly gained from two to five millions sterling, every year, by the British fishery; and he affirms, that it was the possession of this branch of commerce which enabled his countrymen to contend so gloriously with their inveterate, rich, and potent enemies, the Spaniards. This fishery has been publickly, and solemnly called, by the Dutch, in their placarts, the golden mines of the United Provinces, the principal mine, and the chief support of Holland: it really has been such; for the whole product of Holland is scarce sufficient to serve one eighth part of its inhabitants; and well might the Dutch boast that their proud city of Amsterdam is founded upon herring bones. This excited the attention of those worthy patriots

PART triots Admiral Vernon, General Oglethorpe,
 VII. and Mr Janſſen ; this invited the legiſlature to
 countenance what had been ſo nobly projected ;
 1746. and it is this that ought, in a very peculiar man-
 ner, to raiſe a nation from its lethargy, when
 the ſurrounding ſeas are waſting continual plenty
 to their very doors.

THE Britiſh nation, ſurely, has the moſt un-
 conteſted right to the free exerciſe of this valu-
 able commerce ; becauſe the ſovereignty of the
 Britiſh ſeas was always inſiſted upon as a right
 inherent to the Britiſh monarchs. The famous
 Edgar, with a navy of 400 ſail, vindicated his
 dominion on the adjacent ſeas ; and records
 mention his ſucceſſor Canutus to have laid that
 ancient tribute, called Danegelt, upon all, whe-
 ther ſtrangers or denizons, trading on the Bri-
 tiſh coaſts or ſeas. Egbert, Alfred, and Ethel-
 fred, all ſtilled themſelves ſupreme lords and go-
 vernors of the ocean ſurrounding the Britiſh
 ſhore. King John challenged the honour, or
 rather duty, of the flag, univerſally paid him,
 not barely as a civility, but as a right, acknow-
 ledging his title and dominion. The famous
 record, intituled *pro hominibus Hollandiæ*, ſhews
 how obſequious the anceſtors of the Dutch were,
 not only in acknowledging the dominion of
 Edward I. on the ſea, but craving his protection
 and permission to fiſh on the coaſt of England ;
 and had not the ſovereignty of the Britiſh ſeas
 in fact been in the crown of England, why did
 the Earls of Holland petition Edward III. and
 the French alſo Henry VI. for leave to fiſh
 there ? Why did the Dutch ſkippers uſe to
 purchaſe a licence from Scarborough Caſtle, be-
 fore they preſumed to caſt a net upon the north
 coaſts of England ? Wherefore did Philip II.
 of

of Spain obtain a licence, of Queen Mary, for his subjects to fish upon the north coasts of Ireland, for the term of 21 years, for which 1,000 l. was annually paid into the exchequer of Ireland? But there will be no necessity of insisting upon the perpetuity of this privilege; there is no necessity for excluding the Dutch, or any other nation, from their piscatorial commerce; the British seas, from the isles of Shetland to Yarmouth, have a sufficient supply for all; the demand for herrings is not less considerable than formerly; and every good cargoe may be profitably vended: but the British inhabitants, from their proximity to the fishery, have extraordinary advantages over all other nations; and, if the trade is properly conducted, the Dutch will see a very formidable rival in the seat of their opulence. That the worthy endeavours of those honourable gentlemen, who originally concerted so glorious, so important, a project, may be properly and vigorously supported; that this valuable commerce may be established, on a wealthy and durable foundation; and that the British fishery may flourish, to the exoneration of a most grievous national debt, the encouragement of mariners, and the felicity of the Highlanders, is the fervent prayer of the author, and ought to be of every one, who professes himself a Briton, a Christian, and a Man.

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Spain's efforts to liberate Cuba from Spanish rule were rewarded by the United States.

1940

There is no necessity of waiting upon

1944

0131

1940-1941

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 1, 1861. It is a copy of the original letter, and is signed by the President.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

1. The first of these is the fact that the United States has a large and growing population of people who are not citizens of the United States. This is a result of the large number of immigrants who have come to the United States in recent years, and the fact that many of these immigrants are not naturalized citizens.

1941-1942

17. The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the above-mentioned affidavits as having been in the possession of the same at the time of the same being made:

1877

the library may be used for the purpose of a

of numbers, and the following the first number.

100-443887-100

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THE AMERICAN INDIAN

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

P A R T VIII.
IN TWO DIVISIONS.

FIRST DIVISION.
FROM THE
Proceedings of the British Parliament,
began on the 14th of JANUARY,
TO THE
End of the CAMPAIGN in MDCCXLVI.

SECOND DIVISION.
THE
Naval war in ASIA, AMERICA, and
EUROPE.

PART VIII.

IN TWO DIVISIONS.

FIRST DIVISION.

Proceedings of the British Parliament
began on the 14th of January.

THE
END OF THE CAMPAIGN IN AFRICA.

SECOND DIVISION.

THE
Naval war in Asia, America, and
Europe.



FIRST DIVISION,

CHAPTER I.

The fluctuating state of the BRITISH ministry, and the parliamentary proceedings. The conduct of the DUTCH. The political attempts of FRANCE, at the courts of TURIN, COPENHAGEN, and CONSTANTINOPLE. The ministerial transactions at the court of VIENNA ; and the treaty, of reciprocal defence, concluded between the CZARINA, and the Empress-Queen of HUNGARY.

THE acquisitions made by France in the Netherlands, after the battle of Fontenoy, were equally dreadful to the surrounding nations, who expected that the remaining part of those important pro-

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provinces would be speedily over-run. The rapid progress which had been hitherto seen, the weak resistance made by the garrisons, and the inequality of the forces which had entered the field against the troops of France, were universally known, and were universally alarming : nor could it be doubted but that new designs, and more fatal attempts, would be incited, by such an addition of force, and of riches, as these new dominions would supply. Holland was immediately threatened, and if the French should once establish themselves in the Dutch provinces, they would, by the increase of their territory, and the slow and silent accessions which would be every day made to their power, by the ambition of one prince, and the fears of another, become, in a short time, masters of Europe ; nor would any of the neighbouring princes imagine himself secure in the possession of his dominions, but by the favour of France. This demanded the most serious attention of the British nation, and its allies, to contrive a more formidable opposition against France ; nothing but vigorous measures could retard the approach of tyranny ; and if the plan of Lord Carteret had been more seasonably, and properly, put into execution, neither Britain, nor her allies, had then heard of the rapidity of the French conquests, nor been terrified with the multitude of towns taken, nor the extent of provinces subdued to the allegiance of France : but the longer this opposition had been deferred, the more diligence ought to be exerted ; Britain, and her allies, ought no longer to waste time in useless and unavailing controversies, while the common enemy was adding city to city, and every day contriving new schemes of acquisition : it was,
now

now time to awake from negligence, and to oppose that rage of dominion, which burnt only for the ruin of all the neighbouring nations. France, though dangerously potent, was not yet irresistible: the power of Britain was likewise great; the power of Austria was by no means contemptible; and the force of the united provinces, if exerted, was likewise formidable; so that if the antient union could be properly formed, and continued, between these powers, there was no reason that they should despair of repelling a force, even more formidable than the French could hope to bring into the field against them.

A CONFEDERACY is well known to be a mutual stipulation, for the joint use of certain means, in order to the attainment of a common benefit, or the repulsion of a common danger; and, therefore, the failure of one confederate, in the performance of his engagements, must be allowed to absolve the other from his stipulations: in the grand alliance, between the Emperor, England, and the States-General, in the war productive of the treaty of Utrecht, the parties concerned were obliged mutually to assist each other with their whole strength; and, by a convention, subsequent to the treaty of alliance, the proportions, which the several parties should contribute towards the war, were adjusted; by which the Emperor was obliged to furnish 90,000 men, against France, either in Italy, or upon the Rhine; Holland to bring 70,000 men into the field in Flanders, exclusive of garrisons; and England 50,000: but the present war afforded no such stipulations; the Austrian Princess, indeed, had asserted her rights with an heroic perseverance; but the Dutch were averse from exerting their strength; so that Britain supported

PART the heaviest load. However, the British ministry
 VIII. could not but foresee the melancholy consequences attendant on the unresisted triumphs of
 1746. France; they now found the rectitude of those principles, on which the Earl of Grenville had projected the preservation of Europe; and they were now determined to pursue those measures, which they had so strenuously opposed in the preceding administration: the ministry were now of opinion, that, by advancing the system which they had so lately rejected, they would be deliberating not about the danger or happiness of their neighbours, but the particular safety of their own country: the adopted sentiments, that Britons might preserve their religion, liberties, and commerce, by standing alone, and collecting their strength within their own island, friendless, and unassisted, were absolutely exploded; and the policy of uniting themselves with other nations, equally interested in opposing the ambition of France, and Spain, and endeavouring by their conduct to raise a general ardour in the common cause, and a general resistance against the common enemy, was approved: it was now reported, that though the British nation might be said to give assistance to the powers of the continent, it assisted them with no other reason than that which inclined them to give a reciprocal assistance, or to fight for themselves; the British nation acted without regard to any interest but its own, and others were only accidentally benefited, because Britain could not be separated from them: it was, therefore, asserted, that the British ministry ought to consider, not how they might justly treat their allies, but how they could most prudently conduct themselves; not what the behaviour of others had

had deserved, but what the interest of the nation most evidently required; Britons were not to abandon their safety, because others had neglected their own; they were not to ruin themselves that they might punish their allies. There was every motive concurring to promote such a resolution: the reconciliation of the houses of Austria and Brandenburg was of eminent service, since it occasioned the removal of a potent enemy, and gave the Queen of Hungary the full liberty of employing her whole force against France: though the Dutch had obdurately persisted in their resolution of not engaging as principals in the war, it was imagined that the proximity of the danger would make them provide for their security; while the sword impended over their heads, there was reason to hope that the descendants of those who struggled so vigorously, and with such success, for liberty, would not tamely consent to acknowledge themselves slaves; it might be expected that the antient ardour of the republic would revive, and that they would remember the expence at which they established themselves in independency; that they would recollect that spirit which had been broken or depressed, and review those blessings which appeared to have been forgotten; that the Dutch would unite with Britain in the common cause, and once more endeavour the preservation of the rights of mankind.

HIS Britannic Majesty opened the 5th session of parliament on the 17th of October 1745, the primary proceedings of which related only to the domestic affairs concerning the rebellion; but, as the suppression of that commotion was speedily expected, the parliament began to give their attention to the general state of Eu-

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PART rope; and, on the 14th of January 1746, the
 VIII. king went to the house of Peers, where he delivered a speech from the throne, importing,
 1746. “ That the election of an Emperor, which he
 “ had very zealously promoted, was an event of
 “ great importance, not only to the support of
 “ the house of Austria, but to the liberties of
 “ Europe in general. That he, also, during
 “ the course of the last year, exerted his earnest
 “ endeavours to bring about an accommodation
 “ between the Empress, the King of Poland,
 “ and the King of Prussia; and laid a proper
 “ foundation for it, by the convention made
 “ between him and the King of Prussia. This
 “ great work being at length perfected, under
 “ his mediation, by the treaty lately concluded
 “ at Dresden, the interior tranquility of Ger-
 “ many, amongst the princes of the empire,
 “ was then restored. His next care had been,
 “ and should continue to be, applied to im-
 “ prove this accommodation to the best advan-
 “ tage, by procuring an immediate succour to
 “ be sent to Italy; and such a strength for the
 “ defence, and security, of the United Provinces,
 “ as might preserve that republic, the ancient
 “ and natural ally of the British kingdom, and
 “ one main support of the protestant cause,
 “ from the destruction with which it was threat-
 “ ened; as well as to attain a safe and honour-
 “ able peace. That the States-General had
 “ made the most pressing instances to him, to
 “ assist them, in this difficult conjuncture: the
 “ imminent dangers, to which they were ex-
 “ posed, which so nearly affected the safety of
 “ Great-Britain, as well as the very being of
 “ Holland, called for the most serious attention
 “ of his parliament; for the interests of the two
 “ nations

“ nations were so united, that whatsoever
“ brought ruin upon the one, must, in conse-
“ quence, be attended with the most fatal mis-
“ chiefs to the other. These reasons had in-
“ duced him to assure the states, that he would,
“ to the utmost of his power, according to the
“ circumstances of his own dominions, co-operate
“ with them, towards opposing the further pro-
“ gress of their enemies in the Netherlands ;
“ and procuring a proper security for the repub-
“ lic, against the ambitious and destructive de-
“ signs of France. That, in order to this ne-
“ cessary end, measures were then actually con-
“ certing, between him and the states, for fur-
“ nishing this assistance, on his part, as early,
“ and effectually, as possible ; and for the states
“ making such an augmentation of their present
“ forces, as their own immediate preservation,
“ and the necessity of affairs, absolutely required.
“ THAT the great advantages, which the Bri-
“ tish nation had received from its naval
“ strength, in protecting the commerce of his
“ subjects, and intercepting and distressing that
“ of their enemies, had been happily experi-
“ enced by the former, and severely felt by the
“ latter : he was, therefore, determined to be
“ particularly attentive to this important ser-
“ vice ; and to have such a fleet at sea, early in
“ the spring, as might be sufficient to defend
“ themselves, and effectually to annoy their ene-
“ mies. THAT it was with much regret he
“ found himself obliged to ask any further aids
“ of his people ; being so sensible of the bur-
“ thens they endured, that nothing could give
“ him so sincere a pleasure, as to lighten them :
“ he earnestly recommended it to his parlia-
“ ment, to take the most effectual methods to

PART " maintain the public credit, in this conjuncture ; concluding, that he depended on their

VIII. " vigorous support, and the utmost unanimity,

1746. " and dispatch, in their proceedings." Both

houses presented very loyal and dutiful addresses to his majesty ; assuring him that they would vigorously support him, in assisting his allies ; and that the menaces thrown out, and the preparations made by, their enemies, had no other effect upon their minds, but to increase their indignation against the destructive projects and attempts of France, and to augment and heighten their zeal and ardour in the cause of his majesty and their country.

THE supplies were retarded, by a disagreement between his majesty and the ministry ; which was occasioned by the latter endeavouring to introduce some persons who had distinguished themselves, in a former faction, against the government, and whom his majesty was disinclined to receive into his service. This was productive of a sudden confusion at court ; the Marquis of Tweeddale, the principal Secretary of State for Scotland, had already resigned the seals to his Majesty ; but no other person succeeded him, the business of that office being afterwards transacted by the other secretaries of state : the Duke of Newcastle, and the Earl of Harrington, on the 10th of February, resigned, into the hands of his Majesty, the seals of their respective offices of principal secretaries of state. The next day, the honourable Henry Pelham, Esq; resigned his place, of chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer ; the Earl of Pembroke, groom of the stole to his Majesty, surrendered the gold key of his office ; George Grenville, and Henry Legge, Esqrs, resigned

their posts, as Lords of the Admiralty; and several other great officers, both of the state and army, were expected to resign their employments. The Earl of Grenville was appointed Secretary of State; but, the supplies being in suspense, and a general confusion likely to ensue, his lordship, on the 14th of February, resigned the seals, which his Majesty re-delivered to the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Harrington; Henry Pelham, Esq; and others who had resigned, were also re-instated; William Pitt, Esq; was appointed joint Vice-treasurer of Ireland, with the Earl of Cholmondeley, and he was soon after appointed Paymaster-General of the forces, in the room of Thomas Winnington, Esq; deceased, and also admitted a member of the Privy-Council; he was succeeded by Sir William Yonge, as joint Vice-treasurer of Ireland; who was succeeded by Henry Fox, Esq; as secretary at war; Wellbore Ellis, Esq; succeeded Mr Fox, as one of the Lords of the Treasury; the Honourable Richard Arundel, Esq; succeeded Sir John Hynde Cotton, as Treasurer of the Chamber; William Ponsonby, Esq; commonly called Viscount Duncannon, was appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty; Lord Gower was created Earl Gower; the Earl of Stair was made commander in chief of the marine forces; the Earl of Albemarle was made commander in chief of the forces in Scotland; and Sir John Ligonier, Knt of the Bath, was appointed commander in chief of all the British forces, and of those in British pay, in the Austrian Netherlands: After which the supplies were cheerfully granted; though not in that seasonable manner as the circumstances of the Queen of Hungary, and the public exigency, required; which made it an

PART unavoidable consequence, that no army could
 VIII. be collected, in the Netherlands, early enough
 to save some of those important fortresses from
 1746. the power of France.

THE national debt, on the 31st of December 1745, was upwards of fifty-six millions, and the supplies granted for the service of the present year amounted to 7,063,251 *l.* 18 *s.* 10 *d.* $\frac{2}{3}$; of which 2,080,000 *l.* was to be applied for the maintenance of 40,000 seamen; 1,289,100 *l.* 14 *s.* 7 *d.* for the maintenance of 49,299 land forces; 155,074 *l.* 7 *s.* 1 *d.* for maintaining the thirteen new regiments of foot, and two new regiments of horse, raised by certain noblemen on account of the rebellion, for 244 days; 206,253 *l.* 15 *s.* for maintaining 11,550 marines; 161,607 *l.* 17 *s.* 1 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ for the charge of 6,172 Hessians for the last year, together with the subsidy; 200,000 *l.* for the subsidy to the King of Sardinia; and 100,000 *l.* to enable him to prosecute the war in Italy; 24,299 *l.* 1 *s.* 4 *d.* to the Elector of Cologne; 8,620 *l.* to the Elector of Mentz; 400,000 *l.* to enable the Queen of Hungary to maintain 50,000 men in the Low Countries; 300,000 *l.* for defraying the expence of 18,000 Hanoverians, being 5,000 horse and 13,000 foot, to act in the Low Countries, and 10,000 *l.* for a train of artillery to attend them; 21,545 *l.* 19 *s.* 11 *d.* for the charges of the 6,000 Dutch forces while in England; 500,000 *l.* as a vote of credit and confidence, to enable his Majesty to suppress the rebellion, and carry on the war with vigour; and the remainder was to be appropriated to other purposes. To answer this extraordinary grant, the committee of ways and means made an adequate provision, by granting 2,000,000 *l.* on the land tax; 750,000 *l.* on the malt duty; 3,000,000 *l.* to be charged on the ad.

additional duties on glass and spirituous liquors; H. AP.
I. IV
of which 2,500,000 *l.* was to be raised by annuities, and 500,000 *l.* by lottery; 1,000,000 *l.* from the sinking fund, and its growing produce; 1746.
and 500,000 *l.* to be raised by loans, or exchequer bills, and chargeable upon the first aids next sessions of parliament; the whole amounting to 7,250,000 *l.* which was 186,748 *l.* 1 *s.* 1 *d.* more than the grants of the present session, and 678,756 *l.* more than was provided in the preceding session. Though no administration ever began a session under greater disadvantage, the ministry had no material opposition in procuring the supplies; the very men who had so strenuously rejected the continuance of the 16,000 Hanoverian forces in the British pay, were now not only as eager to retain them, but even augmented them with 2,000 more: this carried a countenance of vigorously prosecuting the war; but such plausible measures were defeated by the unseasonable time of putting them into execution: for the Queen of Hungary could never recruit her forces time enough to render them complete, against the ensuing campaign, unless favoured with a very early advance of her subsidies; which, as they were retarded, unavoidably delayed the collecting of an army, in the Netherlands, capable of opposing the French.

TERROR generally increases, as the object which occasioned it approaches; and, therefore, the Dutch, who had hitherto acted with so much caution and timidity, pretended to be more afraid of drawing danger upon themselves, while the armies of France were hovering over their territories: the greatest part of the Netherlands was already in the hands of the French, nor could

PART could it be doubted but that the remaining fort-
VIII. tified places, in the possession of the confeder-

ates, would be taken from them with the same
1746. irresistible vigour and dexterity; for, without a
proper exertion of the Dutch force, and a sea-
sonable supply of the subsidies to the Queen of
Hungary, nothing was more apparent, than
that the confederates could only hope to enter
the field long after the French had taken pos-
session of the remaining towns; nor could any
speed be sufficient to preserve a single province:
it might be naturally predicted that the French
would complete their conquests, while the con-
federates were busied in preparations, which, at
length, must necessarily engage the latter in the
hopeless task of regaining that which they could
not defend. The reduction of Brussels brought
Louvain, and all the other defenceless towns
round about it, to fall of course to the French:
the Dutch found a powerful army of the troops
of France, on one side of the frontiers of their
desolate country; on the other, they saw the
hands of their best corps of troops tied up by
most scandalous capitulations, made in the ut-
most confusion: this, instead of rousing their
indignation, only increased their passive apathy,
and gave them an opportunity of urging the
same reasons which had hitherto prevented them
from declaring war; though their reasons were
only the depravity of some of the corrupted
members, and the fears of others; but those
fears which were so predominant, while the Ne-
therlands were yet unconquered, and while it
was expected that either their fortifications, or
the confederate army, might retard the enemy;
were certainly not diminished by the observa-
tion of the facility with which towns were taken,
and

and provinces over-run, or the remembrance of the dreadful slaughter at Fontenoy. The conduct of the Dutch, in the preceding year, sufficiently informed the world how little they intended to struggle against the power of France, and how little they thought of making any effectual opposition; for when the states had obliged themselves to employ 40,000 men, they contented themselves with sending only 22,000 into the field, and 10,000 of them so well selected, that, at the battle before Tournay, as soon as the fire grew hot, and the hiss of bullets began to disturb their tranquility, they almost shamefully quitted the field, leaving their confederates to enquire after the fate of the day; nor, after so reproachful a behaviour, did they suffer any punishment, or find any other marks of the resentment of their masters, than a trivial enquiry, which ended with impunity, and without justification. An equal proof had been given, by the Dutch, of their zeal to his Britannic Majesty, in the assistance which they sent him for the suppression of the rebellion; for they sent such troops as the articles of a capitulation had disqualified to act; and when the distress of his Britannic Majesty was at its height, they recalled the ten ships of war which they had lent him, instead of furnishing twice the number which he expected from them: though, indeed, their conduct had some appearance of probity, by their pretending that the British men of war had interrupted the navigation of the Dutch, in direct contravention to the marine treaty; but all this was merely pretension, for his Britannic Majesty had sent the strictest orders, to the Lords of the Admiralty, for securing the commerce of the Dutch, whilst they confined themselves

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I.

1746.

PART VIII. selves within the bounds prescribed by the said treaty; the states had been often acquainted,

1746. by the commands of his Majesty, that such violations of the marine treaty were contrary to his intentions, yet the states continued to make their complaints on that head, demanding reparation; and this demand was attended with a plain menace of with-holding their naval succour from his Majesty, and even proceeding to repel force by force, if redress was denied, and the like excesses not prevented for the future: notwithstanding they were well acquainted that every thing repugnant to the marine treaty was strongly prohibited, by the British government, at a time when the merchants of Holland were perpetually assisting the French. How different was this behaviour of the Dutch, when compared with their servile complaisance to the French? extremely reverse, and even in a matter of greater consequence! For the three French India ships taken, on the 25th of January 1745, by Commodore Barner, were sold, by that commander, to Baron Imhoff, the Dutch Governor of Batavia, who altered their names, and sent them to Holland under the colours of the Dutch East-India Company; but, on their arrival in the Texel, the Abbe de la Ville, on the 21st of October 1745, reclaimed them, as purchased contrary to the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht, and the 11th article of the treaty of Versailles concluded on the 21st of December 1739, whereby it is expressly declared, "That
 "neither party should give refuge, or retreat,
 "in their respective ports, or havens, to the
 "prizes taken from the subjects of France, or
 "of their High Mightinesses; and that, if they
 "should be forced into them by storm, or peril
 " of

" of the sea, they should be obliged to put to
" sea again, as soon as possible: " upon which
the states, to appease the resentment of the court
of Versailles, which loudly threatened reprisals,
thought fit to sequester the three vessels, and their
effects, for their restoration to the French East-
India Company.

CHAP.

I.V

1746.

THE court of Versailles had charged the
Dutch with a manifest partiality against France;
on which account the Abbe de la Ville left the
Hague, the very day he had presented his me-
morial for the restitution of the three India ships:
the French monarch, on the 31st of December,
published an edict, revoking the trading privi-
leges granted the Dutch, by the treaty of
Utrecht, and that of 1739, on pretence of con-
traventions by misusing the French privateers,
the affair of the East-India ships purchased of
Commodore Barnet, and infringing the capitula-
tions of Tournay and Dendermond: but, on
the Dutch recalling their troops from England,
and declaring the conduct of the Governor of
Batavia contrary to the subsisting conventions,
the French apparently suspended their resent-
ment; and, on the contrary, took occasion,
from this submission of the states, to offer them
a neutrality, which was strenuously opposed by
M. Van Haren, and some other worthy mem-
bers of the republic, who were for augmenting
their forces with an additional body of 30,000
men, and for putting to sea a fleet of twenty
men of war; which could not be accomplished,
notwithstanding the republic had discovered the
design of France to seize upon Zealand, and
though his Britannic Majesty had declared to his
parliament, that the interest of the Dutch was in-
separably connected with his own: the Dutch
saw

PART saw that the arms of France were ready to be let
VIII. loose on their habitations ; they expected to hear

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the French artillery thundering upon their ramparts, and their walls ; and yet, in the midst of such miserable circumstances, and when the sole point under consideration was how they might ward off so great and so imminent a danger, it was again resolved to confide to strangers all that was dear and precious to the republic ; and the command of all the troops, that were left for the defence of their country, was given to a foreign general, the Prince of Waldeck, whose abilities were unquestionable ; but, as he had never been so much as acknowledged in the quality of general by the principal deputies, the States of Groningen and Friesland presented a remonstrance against such a procedure, whereby they expressed their desire of seeing the Prince of Orange promoted to the rank of general of the infantry, and represented, that by giving the command of the forces to foreign generals, it could not but prove the source of endless jealousies, disorders, and other inconveniencies, in the army ; and that thus it appeared, as if out of pure wantonness, when their liberty, their religion, their wives, their children, their lives, their properties, were all in the utmost danger, they confided these important pledges to the care of people, who, if the republic should lose all, had themselves nothing to lose.

As the Prince of Waldeck was appointed commander in chief of the Dutch forces, in the ensuing campaign ; he communicated a plan to their High Mightinesses, for the confederates to make a formidable opposition in the Netherlands ; by which he required an army in the field of 95,000 men ; the project supposing there

there must be an augmentation of 40,000 men, CHAP.
over and above what was at present there : but I.
the Prince of Waldeck afterwards learnt, that
the Hessian troops were to pass into England ; 1746.

and, having also considered that, in his former project, he had too economically provided for the places which ought to have good garrisons ; and the posts which ought to be guarded by a sufficient corps, he transmitted another scheme to their High Mightinesses, by which he demanded absolutely the number of 109,000 men, and consequently 60,000 more than were at present in the Low Countries, in order to have some security that the approaching campaign might not have so unfortunate an issue, or even worse, than the preceding. The states transmitted this plan to M. Boetselaer, their minister at London, for him to communicate it to the British ministry ; and, as they were now somewhat more anxious for their preservation, they also sent M. Hopp, to London, to enforce the negotiation of M. Boetselaer, who presented a resolution of the states, taken on the 14th of November, by which their minister at London was ordered to make the strongest representations of the danger of the United Provinces, and to make the most urgent demands for the exertion of the interest of his Britannic Majesty, in procuring an early superiority in Flanders for the ensuing campaign, to take the field in the beginning of March. M. Boetselaer, and M. Hopp, made several remonstrances to the British ministry on this occasion : upon which the Earl of Harrington sent those ambassadors a letter, dated the 3d of January, representing, " That his Britannic Majesty had the security
" of the republic extremely at heart ; but that
" the

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“ the rebellion in Scotland, and the apprehen-
 “ sions from the foreign enemies of Britain, had
 “ exceedingly diminished the public revenues,
 “ by the almost total stagnation of the inland
 “ trade, and made it impracticable for his ma-
 “ jesty to raise money in the same proportion as
 “ before for the service of the continent.
 “ THAT their High Mightinesses were in a very
 “ different situation, because the security of the
 “ Netherlands, which was to England a foreign,
 “ but indeed very important, object, was to the
 “ States, in a manner, a domestic one; be-
 “ sides the States, by having hitherto declined
 “ war against France, as his majesty had a right
 “ to expect they should do, in pursuance of their
 “ treaties, had kept themselves clear of all hos-
 “ tilities by sea, by which their trade, and con-
 “ sequently their revenues, were not exposed to
 “ the same diminution as those of his majesty;
 “ and the necessary conclusion, from the whole,
 “ was, that at this juncture, when the States
 “ apprehended so great danger, from the arms
 “ of France, to their own republic, it was rea-
 “ sonable that they should redouble their efforts
 “ for the next campaign, but unreasonable to
 “ expect even equal efforts to those of the last
 “ campaign from his majesty; though he did
 “ not hesitate to assure them, that he would,
 “ to the utmost of his power, according to the
 “ present circumstances of his dominions, co-
 “ operate with them towards opposing the fur-
 “ ther progress of the French, and defending
 “ the frontiers of the republic; and that, as
 “ soon as his domestic affairs would admit of it,
 “ his majesty would be disposed to give his as-
 “ sistance, in such further proportion as might
 “ then become practicable. THAT his majesty
 “ ap-

“ proved of the original plan delivered in by CHAP.
“ the Prince of Waldeck, and would do the 1.
“ utmost to facilitate the execution of it. To
“ this end his majesty proposed, that 40,000 1746.
“ Dutch; 30,000 Austrians, exclusive of the
“ garrison of Luxemburg; 8,000 Hanoverians;
“ 10,000 Saxons, to be jointly taken into the
“ pay of his majesty and the states, pursuant
“ to the treaty of Warsaw; and the 6,000 Hef-
“ sians to be returned from Scotland, on the
“ suppression of the rebellion; should be as-
“ sembled in the Netherlands: for which pur-
“ pose his majesty desired, that an agreement
“ might be entered into, between the empress,
“ the states, and himself, and that they might
“ immediately proceed to the execution of it.
“ THAT his majesty had not touched upon
“ what related to the defence of the empire,
“ because he was not in a condition to contri-
“ bute to it, and could not doubt of the empe-
“ ror and empress taking all proper measures,
“ in conjunction with the princes and circles for
“ that purpose: and, with regard to Italy, the
“ king ought to believe that the empress would
“ now give that attention to it, which she was
“ obliged to, by the treaty of Worms, and en-
“ abled to do by the conclusion of that of Dres-
“ den; his majesty being, on his part, still dis-
“ posed to fulfil the engagements which con-
“ cerned him, with the same exactness as he
“ had hitherto, provided that was done. THAT
“ his majesty did not doubt, as the object
“ of the war in Flanders was no longer the as-
“ sistance of the Queen of Hungary only, but
“ extended to the independence, and to the
“ very being, of the republic itself, which had
“ been treated by the most insolent and inde-

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cent menaces by France, that the states would be ready to exert their utmost power, by augmentations in their land and sea forces; and that, now the case was become directly their own, and they had thought it necessary to have recourse to the assistance of his majesty, they would no longer hesitate to put themselves upon the same foot with the British nation, by declaring war against France: by which means they would support the honour of the republic, injuriously, and even contemptuously, treated, by France; fulfil their treaties towards their allies; and encourage the subjects of his majesty to exert themselves to the utmost in their defence." This letter was transmitted to their High Mightinesses, who, soon after, drew up a resolution in answer to it, and sent it to their ministers at London, to make the proper communication to the British ministry; by which they expressed "Much satisfaction of the confidential overture which his Britannic majesty had made of his sentiments, with regard to the most proper means to be employed for the security of the Netherlands, whose preservation could not be considered as of greater advantage to the republic, than to Great Britain. That the revenues and funds of the republic had been so much diminished, within a few years, that it was almost impossible for them to find out a sufficiency to pay the great charges to which the present troubles exposed them; and that more was required, and expected, of them, than was in their power to effect. THAT their High Mightinesses would furnish 40,000 men; but, with regard to the declaration of war, which was required of the republic, his majesty, knowing

“ing the very important reasons which had hindered the States to this time, they could not dispense with themselves from not insisting on the same reasons, as being much stronger at present, than they were last year.”

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I.

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WHILE the States General were endeavouring to throw the weight of the war upon his Britannic majesty, they sent Count Wassenaar on an ambassy to the court of Versailles; who had his audience, of the French monarch, on the 27th of February, when he represented, in his speech to his majesty, “That the States desired nothing more sincerely than to promote and preserve friendship with his majesty, and to efface every impression which might tend to weaken a good understanding between him and them: and, as they were convinced of the pacific inclinations of his majesty, they hoped he would do them the same justice; and not doubt but that their wishes truly tended to see an end put to the troubles in Europe by a happy peace; what so many nations sighed for want of; and most ardently wished for: this was what the States would center their felicity in, if their endeavours should contribute to put a stop to so many calamities, and if his majesty, convinced of the purity of their intentions, would place an entire confidence in them.”

The pacific negotiation of Count Wassenaar was inconsistent with the scheme of Cardinal Tencin, and met with no manner of encouragement: the French were too elated, with the possession of their conquered provinces, to be easily brought into a peaceable disposition: and there was no way of sheathing the sword, unless the empress queen would, by way of preliminary, renounce

PART all claim to the territories which had been
 VIII. taken from her in Italy, and to a part of
 those which the French had got possession of in
 1746. the Netherlands, besides her consenting to the
 demolition of Luxemburg; and unless England
 would restore Cape Breton to France, with a
 payment of 400,000*l.* by way of indemnification.

THE French were making vigorous preparations for prosecuting the war, both in the Netherlands, and in Italy: 100,000 men were to push on their conquests in the former country, under the command of Marshal Saxe; while 20,000 were to assist the Spanish prince in Italy, under the command of Marshal Maillebois; and for which M. Machault, the new comptroller general, had provided the sum of 240 millions of livres, or 12 millions sterling.

As France was entirely excluded from her late influence in Germany; she began to exert her ministerial artifice, among such other powers as were capable of promoting her interest, and depressing the house of Austria. Advantageous proposals were made to his Sardinian majesty, to prevail on him to abandon his alliance with the Queen of Hungary: these propositions were made by the son of Marshal Maillebois; and the King of Sardinia politickly seemed to hearken to terms of accommodation with France and Spain, though he was really determined to persist in his adherence to the Austrian interest; he so artfully concealed his design, that the court of Madrid sent the Duke de Huescar, as ambassador extraordinary, to Paris, to settle terms of accommodation; but when his Sardinian majesty had accomplished what he intended by listening to the overtures of peace, he suddenly declared his resolution of strictly observing

observing his former engagements ; nor was there any room to doubt his sincerity.

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I.

THE French still maintained their interest at the Court of Copenhagen, where they prevailed on his Danish majesty to renew the subsidy treaty, for three years, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the British ambassador against it, which were all ineffectual : though his Danish majesty, as well as the Czarina, offered to send a body of troops to facilitate the suppression of the rebellion in Scotland. The court of Petersburg had given sufficient testimonies of their disapprobation of the measures of France, and their resolution to protect the liberties of Europe : the court of Stockholm had obtained a definitive treaty of peace with Russia, and was applying all her attention to the increase of commerce : while his Prussian majesty abided by the treaties of Dresden ; and, having exonerated his subjects from the cares and expences of war, was adding to their happiness, by encouraging their trade and manufactures, and by extricating them from the chicanery and perplexities of tedious and expensive law suits, by ordering his judicial officers to moderate the expence by the abridgment of proceedings, that had in them more of form than use. However, from the late success of the Spaniards in Italy ; the friendship of his Sicilian majesty ; the dependance of the Genoese ; and the arrival of six galleons from the Havannah, on the 14th of February, at Corunna, with twelve millions of pieces of eight, the French thought of nothing less than an uninterrupted series of conquests and triumphs.

As the court of Versailles found every avenue was blocked for continuing their delusion among the European powers, and exasperating them

PART against the Queen of Hungary ; it was then de-
 VIII. termined to irritate the Ottoman court against
 her, and induce the Turk to cancel his fidelity,
 1746. with the court of Vienna, by disregarding the
 treaty of Belgrade, concluded on the 18th of
 September 1739, which the grand signior had
 religiously observed, in spite of all the instances
 and solicitations of France to the contrary.
 Accordingly the Marquis de Castellane was sent
 on an embassy to Constantinople ; where, on the
 15th of December, he had an audience of the
 grand vizir, to whom he presented an answer
 from the French monarch to the letter of me-
 diation sent him by the grand signior ; in which
 his majesty professed himself extremely edified
 by the example of his sublime highness, magni-
 fied his own sincere inclinations to peace, and
 accepted his mediation with the greatest readi-
 ness. On the 18th, the resident of the Queen
 of Hungary had an audience, to notify the elec-
 tion of his imperial majesty, which the French
 ambassador endeavoured to prevail on the Otto-
 man ministry not to acknowledge ; but in vain.
 This occasioned the Marquis de Castellane, on
 the 10th of February, to present a memorial to
 the Ottoman ministry ; wherein he represented,
 " THAT the double peace of the King of Prus-
 " sia, with the King of Poland, and the Queen
 " of Hungary, must have appeared a very ex-
 " traordinary event to the sublime porte, after
 " the signal victory which that prince had ob-
 " tained, over the Saxons and Austrians, near
 " Dresden ; to which he was obliged by the
 " march of the Muscovites, who were assembled
 " in Courland, and threatened to invade his
 " dominions. The sublime porte must, from
 " hence, perceive, of what importance it would
 " have

“ have been to her, if she had followed the CHAP.
“ advice which France gave her, by her am- I.
“ bassador, of making some alarm upon the
“ frontiers of Germany : for in like manner as 1746.
“ the motions of the Muscovites determined his
“ Prussian majesty to give his suffrage to the
“ Grand Duke of Tuscany ; so the motions of
“ the Ottoman troops would have prevented
“ every elector from giving his voice for that
“ prince, and would, at the same time, have
“ even obliged him to desist from his preten-
“ sions. THAT all the reasons which France had
“ made use of, to prove the election of the
“ grand duke illegal, still subsisted, and were
“ founded upon the laws of the Empire of
“ Germany ; and the Emperor of France, as
“ guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, had
“ a right, in himself, to oppose whatever was
“ attempted against the liberty and laws of the
“ Germanic body. *The Emperor of France en-
“ gaged in a war to binder the Empire of Germany,
“ in contempt of these laws, from becoming, a second
“ time, hereditary in the house of Austria :* his ma-
“ jesty caused it to be declared to the porte, that
“ he would, with all his forces, oppose the
“ election of the grand duke ; and he persisted
“ constantly in this project. THAT as France,
“ with so much resolution, pursued her system,
“ why should the sublime porte depart from the
“ plan she had hitherto pursued, with regard
“ to the acknowledgment of the grand duke ?
“ Was not the porte principally interested in
“ preventing the imperial dignity from being
“ perpetuated in the house of Austria ? Let it
“ not be deceived : this house would be always
“ her natural enemy ; and, having imperial
“ dignity, would employ all the forces of Ger-
“ many

1746..

“ many to recover her ancient power, and
 “ make it valid with her allies, who concurred
 “ to help her out of the bad situation she was
 “ in, with no other views, but to make use of
 “ her in the execution of their designs against
 “ the Ottoman power. THAT it was true, the
 “ King of Prussia had made his peace; but this
 “ was a stronger reason why the porte, who
 “ had exhorted France to persist in the same
 “ system, and had began to concur in it her-
 “ self, should continue united to France, and
 “ conform to the plan which she would fol-
 “ low: this peace, perhaps, was only a truce
 “ upon force, of as short duration as the treaty
 “ of 1742; but if it should be true, that the
 “ house of Austria, by her accommodation
 “ with the houses of Bavaria and Branden-
 “ burgh, should be delivered from her enemies
 “ in Germany, it would follow that those pow-
 “ ers, who, on the east and west, might bound
 “ the illimitable ambition of that house, were
 “ more interested than ever to preserve a good
 “ understanding, and act with uniformity. THAT
 “ the peace with Persia was either concluded, or
 “ upon the point of being so; when efficacious
 “ and solid measures might be taken, to over-
 “ throw the ambitious projects of the Austri-
 “ ans: but the sublime porte would previously
 “ renounce all the advantage of those mea-
 “ sures, and would deviate from the rules of
 “ sound policy, if she tied up her own hands,
 “ and voluntarily, without necessity, gave up
 “ the right she had either to act or threaten,
 “ whenever the circumstances of affairs might
 “ require it: therefore, the ambassador of
 “ France was persuaded, that if the sublime
 “ porte condescended to pay an attention to this
 “ memorial,

“ memorial, she would defer the acknowledge-
“ ment of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, at least,
“ till the first successes of the next campaign,
“ for which France was making immense pre-
“ parations, were seen.” As France, without

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any regard for christianity, spared no pains or artifices to stir up the Ottoman porte against the house of Austria; this memorial was an evidence that she was no less sollicitous to embroil the Turks with Russia, in the same manner as she had done in 1738, when France brought the Mahometan arms against the Czarina, because she had opposed the establishment of Stanislaus in Poland: and, by this memorial, France made a sincere confession that the true cause of the war was for opposing the election of the grand duke, and not for obtaining the pretensions of the house of Bavaria; which served, as the original pretexts, for colouring the breach of a peace, confirmed by oath but a few years before: the Ottoman ministry paid little attention to this memorial; for the grand signior recognized the title of the Emperor of Germany, in the Grand Duke of Tuscany; and manifested a resolution to live peaceably, and harmoniously, with the christian powers.

THE court of Vienna was also industriously employed in re-establishing her interest with the European powers, and providing the necessary forces and supplies for opening the campaign; for which purpose the Austrian ministry had proposed, to their confederates, to bring 50,000 men into the Netherlands, besides their contingent, of 30,000 men, for Italy, if timely supplied with their subsidies. Prince Charles of Lorraine was elected Prime Veldt Marshal of the Empire, though opposed by the Prussian and Palatine ministers:

ministers : but the Imperial court had not interest enough to prevail with the circles of the Empire, to come to any other resolutions than to defend themselves, and mutually assist each other, when attacked by any power whatsoever. The Austrian minister at the court of Dresden, in concert with those of the maritime powers, caused the provisional requisition to be made for the march of the 10,000 Saxons, agreed to be furnished for the service of the Maritime powers, and to serve in the Netherlands, pursuant to the treaty of Warsaw : but his Polish majesty was not seasonably supplied with the stipulated subsidy, which retarded the motion of these troops ; because the heavy contributions lately exacted in his electoral dominions, by the King of Prussia, made it impossible for his Polish majesty to raise a sufficient sum of money to put the requested troops into a condition of marching early enough for the Netherlands : however the Elector of Bavaria promised the court of Vienna to supply her with a body of troops, on the first requisition, and the condition of a proper subsidy.

If the court of Versailles was disappointed in her artifices at the Ottoman porte, the overtures from the court of Vienna found a very different reception with the czarina : the Russian ministry were determined to support the interest of the house of Austria ; and a treaty was concluded, on the 20th of March, between her imperial majesty of all the Russias, and her imperial and regal majesty the Empress of the Romans, by which it was agreed, " THAT if the
" Czarina should be attacked, or inquieted, by
" any one whomsoever, so that she thought it
" necessary to claim the succour of her allies,
" the

“ the empress queen should send her, within CHAP.
“ the term of three months from the day of the I.
“ requisition, a succour of 30,000 men; 20,000
“ foot, and 10,000 horse, which should remain 1746,
“ in the service of the Czarina as long as the
“ said attack, or vexation, should subsist. The same
“ succour was also granted, upon the same con-
“ ditions, by the Czarina to the empress queen :
“ but it was mutually agreed, that this alliance
“ should not extend, with regard to either of the
“ parties, if the Czarina should be attacked by
“ Persia, or if the states of the empress queen
“ in Italy should be attacked ; nor was this
“ engagement to reach to the war which ex-
“ isted in Italy, or to any other war between the
“ empress queen and the crown of Spain : how-
“ ever it was agreed, that, if the empress queen
“ should be attacked in Italy, the Czarina should
“ keep ready a corps of 30,000 men; and, in
“ like manner, if the Czarina should be attacked
“ by Persia, the empress queen should also keep
“ 30,000 men in readiness : which reciprocal
“ preparative should be made by the two high
“ contracting powers, that they might be the
“ more ready to furnish mutually the necessary
“ succour, if another war should happen to
“ arise before those in Italy, or Persia, were ter-
“ minated.”



CHAPTER II.

The campaign in the NETHERLANDS: the reduction of ANTWERP, MONS, St GUILAIN, and NAMUR, by the FRENCH; and the battle of LIERS, or ROUCOUX. The campaign in ITALY: the expulsion of the FRENCH and SPANIARDS out of PIEDMONT, by the King of SARDINIA: the abandoning of MILAN by Don PHILIP, and his retreat from the AUSTRIAN general; the action at CODOGNO; the junction of the FRENCH and SPANIARDS; and the battle of PLACENTIA: the junction of the AUSTRIANS and PIEDMONTESE; the battle of ROTTO FREDO; with the total expulsion of the SPANIARDS, and their auxiliaries, out of the PARMESAN, PLAISANTIN, and MILANESE; their flight to GENOA, and retreat into PROVENCE.

T H E

THE French, by closing the former campaign with the reduction of Brussels, were in possession of all the strong fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands, excepting Antwerp, Mons, St Guilain, Charleroy, Namur, and Luxemburg; which they were determined to subdue in the ensuing campaign. The confederate army was assembled in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, on the 24th of March, by Marshal Bathiani, who had only four battalions and nine squadrons of the British troops, sixteen battalions and thirty five squadrons of the Dutch, ten battalions and sixteen squadrons of Austrians, with sixteen battalions and twenty-six squadrons of Hanoverians, in all 44,000 men, under his command; though a large reinforcement was speedily expected, when Prince Charles of Lorraine was to appear at the head of the army: but, till then, Marshal Bathiani was obliged to intrench his little army behind the Demer, about ten miles S. E. of Antwerp, and fourteen N. E. from Brussels, where Marshal Saxe was assembling the army of France, consisting of 120,000 men. The French, with their monarch at the head of his irresistible force, took the field on the 24th of April: they immediately bent their march towards the confederates; and, on the 1st of May, obliged them to abandon their advantageous situation in the neighbourhood of Mechlin, and to retire to Antwerp, from whence they were also obliged to recede, on the 6th of May; when they retreated to Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant, after leaving a garrison of 2,000 men in Antwerp. MARSHAL SAXE immediately invested the city of Antwerp, which was unable to stop the progress

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progress of the French, who took possession of it on the 9th of May : but the citadel sustained a siege of seven days, when the garrison surrendered upon honourable terms : after which Marshal Saxe turned his arms against the southern part of the Netherlands ; because he had no present danger to apprehend from the confederates, who were fortifying their camp at Terhyde, near Breda, in expectation of reinforcements from England and Germany. Mons, the capital of Hainault, was the next object of the French Marshal : this city is situate on an eminence, near the confluence of the Rivers Haine and Trouille, fifty-one miles south of Antwerp, twenty-six S. W. of Brussels, and twenty-two S. E. of Tournay : the adjacent country may be so overflowed as to render the approaches of an enemy very difficult ; and the fortifications are of considerable strength : however it has been frequently taken and retaken, particularly, by the Duke of Marlborough, in 1709, after the victory of Malplaquet : nor was it now more tenable against the French, who invested it, on the 29th of May, with 60,000 men, provided with 800 waggons laden with bombs and bullets, 140 pieces of heavy cannon, and eighty mortars : the garrison consisted of only 3,400 men ; scarce a third part sufficient to defend the works : but they made a brave defence, and though obliged to abandon their outworks one after another, they did not surrender till the 27th of June, when the very great and continual fire, of so formidable a train of artillery, had made several breaches wide enough for an assault ; but it cost the French 7,000 men. The French next appeared before St Guilain, five miles west of Mons, where the garrison, of 600 men, surrendered

dered without any material resistance. Charles-CHAP.
roy, a strong town on the river Sambre, nine- II.
teen miles west of Namur, was invested on the 8th of July; the trenches were opened on the 11th; and, though the garrison consisted of 1,500 men, the place was taken on the 14th, by the besiegers rushing into the town among a party of the garrison returning from a sally. After the reduction of these places, the French monarch found himself absolute master of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault: this caused him to publish an edict, by which he re-united for ever to his dominions, that part which formerly belonged to them, by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, and which the French were constrained to relinquish by the treaty of Utrecht; and his majesty granted the administration of the re-united country, for five years, to Monsieur Gerardine. There was now only one formidable town, from the sea to the bishopric of Liege, unreduced by the French: this was Namur, capital of the province of that name, situate at the confluence of the Sambre and the Maese, thirty-five miles S. E. of Brussels: it was so remarkably strong that it had never been attempted by the great Duke of Marlborough; and the two sieges it sustained in the preceding war, one by Lewis XIV. and the other by King William, greatly distinguished the years 1692, and 1695: but this place the French were now determined to bring to their obedience.

THE Hessian troops from Scotland, and a reinforcement of Austrians under Count Palfy, had now augmented the confederate army at Terhyde, where Prince Charles of Lorraine had taken the command on the 4th of July; when he found himself at the head of ninety-six battalions,

PART talions, 100 squadrons, 2,000 pandours, forty-six
 VIII. companies of grenadiers, and eight independent
 1746. companies, in all 87,000 men; with which his
 highness, Marshal Bathiani, and the Prince of
 Waldeck, came to the resolution of marching to
 the protection of the important city of Namur.
 The confederate army made several marches;
 and, on the 18th of July, arrived in the neigh-
 bourhood of Namur, early enough to cover
 it, for some time, from the fury of the French,
 whose army consisted of 198 battalions, 144
 squadrons, and thirteen independent companies,
 in all, 104,000 men. The French were en-
 camped at Gemblours, ten miles N. W. of Na-
 mur; and the confederate army was posted, in
 an advantageous situation, within sight of them,
 where Marshal Saxe was afraid to attack them,
 contenting himself with seizing Dinant, fourteen
 miles south of Namur, in the bishopric of
 Liege, by which he made himself master of the
 navigation of the Maese above Namur. The
 two armies lay observing the motions of each
 other; and Prince Charles disconcerted all the
 attempts of the French general till the 8th of
 August; when Count Lowendahl, with a de-
 tachment of 20,000 French, took possession of
 Huy, a town and castle of importance on the
 river Maese, seventeen miles N. E. of Namur,
 subject to the bishop of Liege; but, on account
 of its conveniency, generally seized upon during
 any contentions in the Netherlands: the confe-
 derates had a considerable magazine in Huy,
 which fell into the hands of the French; who,
 by the possession of this place, had cut off the
 communication of the confederates with Mae-
 stricht. Marshal Saxe, by his position, had also
 deprived the confederates of all kinds of sub-
 sistance,

sistance, on his side; which obliged Prince Charles of Lorrain to think of quitting his advantageous post; of abandoning Namur to its own strength; and retiring on the northern side the Maese, to draw his supplies, of provision and forage, from the Duchies of Limberg and Luxemburg: to which he was the more readily induced, because the confederates had no troops to spare for an attempt to dislodge Count Lowendahl; nor were they provided with battering cannon, nor even with field-pieces enough, to venture a battle with Marshal Saxe.

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THE confederates, on the 18th of August, passed over the Maese; and Namur was immediately invested by 35,000 men; under the command of Count Clermont; who caused the trenches to be opened on the 2d of September. The garrison consisted of 7,000 Austrians, who made a vigorous defence: but a continual shower of bombs made such dreadful havoc in the city, that it was obliged to be surrendered, on the 8th, when the garrison retired into the citadel; where they were attacked with so much activity, that, after the destruction of two magazines, and the loss of a great number of men, they capitulated, on the 23d of September, when the French, after the loss of 4,000 men, took possession of this important city. The French monarch ordered *te deum* to be sung throughout all his dominions for the rapid reduction of Namur; his ministers affirmed that their troops were no longer sensible of the lengths to which sieges were carried in former reigns; that the surrender of Namur was the fruit of a campaign, where valour, capacity, and prudence, conquered the enemy, without fighting them; that God was just in the revolution of empires;

VOL. IV. S and,

PART and, by the conquest of Flanders, restored the
VIII. ancient patrimony of the French monarchs, into
the hands of a king who fought only for peace,
1746. making truth and clemency his constant attendants, and the chief support of his throne.

DURING the siege of Namur, the confederates were posted at Maestricht, a city of Brabant, belonging to the Dutch, forty-three miles N. E. of Namur, and thirteen N. of Liege; where they were joined by Sir John Legonier, with three British battalions; and by two battalions of Bavarians, being a part of 5,000 men, lately granted by that elector to be taken into the pay of the confederates: so that the allied army was little inferior to the French. It was, therefore, resolved, on the 13th of September, to cross the Maese, and march towards Marshal Saxe, which was accordingly put into execution on the 16th: but Marshal Saxe had early intelligence of their design, and posted his army at Tongres, ten miles N. W. of Liege; where he was advantageously situated for interrupting the progress of the confederates, who were under the necessity of returning to Maestricht; though the French general was determined to pursue, and bring them to an engagement, if they retreated.

THE confederate army, on the 26th of September, effected the passage of the Jaar, at four in the morning, in their retreat to Maestricht; the army marching in eight columns, the artillery making the ninth: but the French marshal had removed the bulk of his army, from Tongres, with such expedition, that he had a fair opportunity of attacking what part of the confederate army he pleased: though such measures were taken for his reception, that the mar-

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shall waited for the arrival of Count Clermont, from Namur, before he would hazard an attack; contenting himself, for the present, with erecting batteries, and posting some detachments of horse, on the rising grounds, where they could most conveniently annoy the confederates. Sir John Legonier led the left wing of the confederate horse, and after they were passed, he remained with Prince Charles of Lorraine and Marshal Bathiani, at the head of the defile, till the rear guard, and every thing, was passed, without seeing an enemy; though they heard the alarm, and the general beat in their camp. This being done, the confederate generals went, towards the left, to see the position of their new camp, in the neighbourhood of the village of Liers, four miles north of Liege, and ten miles south of Maestricht: during which time, seven brigades of French, sixty squadrons of horse, and all their light troops, appeared on the rising grounds, and were beginning to pass the river: the cannonading then began, and was very hot, on both sides. The confederate generals made such a prudent disposition, that the French were immediately attacked by the British regiment commanded by Major-General Johnson, who petitioned for it, and did it with so good a countenance, that they acquired great reputation: they were assisted by two Hanoverian regiments, and two regiments of Hessians, who behaved so gallantly, that the French were broken, and beat back into the ravine, with the loss of 700 men; though the confederates lost only 400. In the mean time, the confederate forces were ordered to be under arms; they lay so all night; the French retired about midnight;

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PART and, in the morning of the 27th, the confederates encamped.

1746. COUNT CLERMONT joined Marshal Saxe, on the 28th of September, so that the French were then in their full force, amounting to 170 battalions; with which Marshal Saxe was determined to attack the confederates in their encampment. The French army, on the 30th of September, passed the Jaar in the afternoon; encamping within a league of the confederates, who were convinced that the intention of Marshal Saxe was to attack them: upon which their heavy baggage was, that night, sent to Maestricht; orders were given for the confederate infantry to lie with their accoutrements on, the horse to be saddled, and all the troops to be under arms an hour before day. The dispositions, for receiving the French, were made at the quarters of Prince Charles of Lorraine, with great skill and judgment; and, every person being at his post, early in the morning of the 1st of October, they perceived the French advancing towards them, their infantry being formed into three columns, with thirty pieces of artillery at the head of each column. The right wing of the confederates, consisting of the Austrians, was extended upon a plain, half a mile beyond Grondza, having the villages of Endist, Sling, and Fexhe, in their front; which they occupied with twelve battalions. Betwixt the last village and Liers was a plain, and this was in front of the Hanoverian infantry: in front of the British and Hessian foot was the village of Liers: in front of the Hanoverian cavalry was the village of Warem: and betwixt the Scotch Greys and the left of the Dutch line was the village of Roucoux: these troops composing

posing the left wing of the army. Major-General Zastrow, with two British, four Hanoverian, and two Hessian battalions, having Prince Frederic of Hesse and Brigadier Douglas under him, was ordered to defend the three last villages; because Prince Waldeck, who was to have defended Roucoux, had been obliged to post a great detachment in the suburbs of Liege, upon intelligence that the French intended to take post there in the evening.

THE French, in three columns, were by this time advanced so near, that three batteries, which the confederates had erected, began to play upon them: this was about noon; and the cannonading continued till two, with terrible execution on both sides. Prince Waldeck was then attacked, on the left, with great fury; but the French were repulsed, several times, with extraordinary bravery, by the Dutch; who were however overpowered by numbers, and obliged to give way after a very gallant defence: but what contributed greatly to this success of the French, was, that the inhabitants of Liege had, the night before, introduced them into the town, and put them in possession of it, just in the back of Prince Waldeck, whose disposition was excellently made before that accident, having a flank upon his left of eight battalions with a great ravine, and very difficult ground before them, with his left wing of horse to support it. The villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, were, at the same time, attacked by forty-five battalions of the French, in columns, by brigades: as soon as one brigade gave way another came on; they were twice repulsed; but Major General Zastrow, with his eight battalions, after having maintained his posts wonder-

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fully well, was at last obliged to abandon the villages of Warein and Roucoux; though he still supported himself at Liers, with the battalions under the Prince of Hesse and Major-General Howard. The British cavalry shewed the greatest desire to fall upon the French horse, but they kept themselves constantly under the protection of their foot and cannon; and when the French infantry came out upon the plain, the British horse galloped up with great spirit to charge them, the Earl of Rothes being at the head of the first line, and the Earl of Crawford at the second, who drove the French back, sword in hand, into the hedges, much faster than they came on. Sir John Legonier rallied the broken battalions, and posted them in an advantageous situation: while Prince Charles of Lorraine, and Marshal Bathiani, gave their orders, in all parts, through the whole action, with the greatest judgment and intrepidity: but they found it impossible to weaken the Austrian line to reinforce the left; because the French had posted 10,000 horse, on an eminence, at some distance from the right flank of the Austrians, who, if they had weakened themselves, might have been prevented in their retreat to Maestricht. As soon as Prince Waldeck, whose troops had begun to give way, was informed that the villages were lost, he retreated in good order towards the Maese; and, in these circumstances, a general retreat of the confederates was resolved upon, which was securely executed, by the prudent disposition made by Prince Charles of Lorraine; the rear guard, of twenty squadrons, twelve battalions, and twelve companies of grenadiers, being all Austrians, appointed upon for this service, because they had not suffered in
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the action. The confederates quitted the field with as little disadvantage as could be possibly expected, and retreated to the mountain of St Peter, two miles south of Maestricht; but the French did not think proper to pursue them. The confederates had 4,290 men either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; of these 1,420 were Dutch, 1,236 were Hanoverians, 650 were Austrians, 400 were Hessians, 240 were Bavarians, and 350 were English; who also lost twenty-four pieces of cannon, and five haubitzes: the Dutch had Major-General Veldtman, two colonels, two majors, eight captains, and fifteen subalterns killed; with Count La Lippe, Lieutenant-General Smiffaart, and several other officers wounded: the Hessian regiment of Manspach had six captains killed, and the Hanoverian regiment of Maidell had not one officer left; the English had Sir Henry Nesbit, and five other captains killed, Lieutenant-Colonel Montagu, Major Sowle, Major Kendall, one captain, and eight subalterns wounded, or prisoners; but neither the Austrians, or Bavarians, suffered any material loss among the officers. However, the French purchased the honour of the day at an expensive rate; having lost upwards of 9,000 men in the action, with a great number of eminent officers; and this without being able to obstruct the march of the confederates to Maestricht. This battle terminated the campaign in the Netherlands; the Allies passed the Maese, and separated to take up their winter quarters in the duchies of Limberg and Luxemburg, and the country along the Lower Maese; while the French were disposing of their troops in the new conquered places.

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WHILE the French were so successful in the Netherlands, the affairs of Italy were, almost beyond expectation, to their disadvantage. At the close of the last campaign, the army of the three crowns, assisted by the Genoese, were in possession of the duchies of Milan and Parma, with a considerable part of the Modenese: the royal infant Don Philip had his residence in Milan, where he had caused the citadel to be blockaded: the Austrians had withdrawn themselves from Novara into the Mantuan, where Prince Lichtenstein waited for the arrival of a considerable succour from Germany: the King of Sardinia had drawn his troops together, in a little compass, about Turin, having the mortification of seeing a great part of his strong places already in the hands of the French and Spaniards; but the British subsidies enabled both their Imperial and Sardinian majesties to strengthen their forces, and gave fresh resolution both to them and their subjects; so that the recruited armies were very early in action on both sides. His Sardinian majesty, tempted by promises on one part, harrassed by distresses on the other, driven from pass to pass, and obliged to see the conquest of one fortress after another, still persisted in his resolution, of defending the House of Austria, and continued to set those enemies at defiance who had possession of the greatest part of his dominions, and who shook his throne, though they could not shake his constancy: how pleasing is it to dwell on the contemplation of the fortitude, and integrity, shewn by this great prince, during the course of all the years in which he had been harrassed by perpetual attacks; in which he had given the strongest proofs of an unconquerable resolution, and invariable

variable adherence to his engagements? that the CHAP.
House of Bourbon was prevented from erecting II.
another kingdom in Italy, was owing to the
magnanimity of his Sardinian majesty, who, at 1746.
last, obtained the proper reward of bravery, by
driving his enemies before him, and recovering
his dominions; at the same time that the re-
cruited Austrians were equally successful in the
dominions of the Empress queen.

THE army of the three crowns, posted in the
Piedmontese dominions, consisted of 30,000
men, under Marshal Maillebois: Don Philip,
and Count de Gages, had 35,000 men in the
neighbourhood of Milan; and the Duke of Mo-
dena had 8,000 in his own dominions; in all
73,000 men: the King of Sardinia had aug-
mented his army to 36,000 men; and Prince
Lichtenstein was at the head of 40,000 Austrians.
The timely arrival of succours from Germany,
to make a powerful diversion on the side of the
Mantuan, obliged the French and Spanish gene-
rals to bend their force to that quarter; and this
not only relieved his Sardinian majesty from the
fear of a bombardment, with which his capital
was threatened, but encouraged him to open the
campaign with new spirits and resolution. Gene-
ral Leutrum, with 16,000 Piedmontese, invested
the important town of Asti, on the 12th of
February; which surrendered, on the 24th;
when the garrison, consisting of nine battalions
of the best troops of France, amounting to
5,200 men, were made prisoners of war, with
Lieutenant-General Montal, two major-generals,
three brigadiers, and near 400 officers. The
Piedmontese general afterwards relieved the cita-
del of Alexandria, which had been blockaded
all the winter, and made 1,000 Spaniards pris-
ners

PART ners in the town. This was followed by the
VIII. surrender of Casal, on the 16th of March;
 1746. whereupon Marshal Maillebois retired, with the
 remainder of his forces, from Tortona, into the
 neighbourhood of Genoa: by which all the
 Montferrat was free from an enemy, and Valen-
 za was immediately invested, though it held out
 till the 22d of April, when it was recovered by
 the Piedmontese, who took 1,000 prisoners.

DON PHILIP had the same misfortunes on the
 other side, being obliged to abandon Milan, the ca-
 pital of his projected empire, on the 8th of March,
 and to retire to Pavia; where he was closely follow-
 ed by Prince Lichtenstein, who had sent a detach-
 ment to retake Guastalla, which was immediately
 recovered. Don Philip abandoned Pavia, on the
 24th of March, and conducted his army to Parma,
 and other places in the same neighbourhood, in
 separate bodies. The Austrians vigilantly followed
 the Spaniards, and their auxiliaries; and the Mar-
 quis de Castellar, with 7,000 men, was obliged to
 abandon Parma, in the night of the 19th of April,
 leaving behind him his artillery and baggage,
 with a considerable magazine in the citadel; and,
 after continual skirmishing with the light troops
 under General Nadasti, who pursued him for ele-
 ven days together, he made his way to Sarzana,
 in the territories of the Genoese, with the loss of
 2,000 men. Don Philip, and Count de Gages,
 threw themselves into Placentia, with the rest of
 their forces, on the 23d of April; while the
 Austrians re-entered Parma, retook Ussolongo,
 and recovered St. Lazaro, without any resistance.
 However, to counterballance the loss of the
 Marquis de Castellar, the Spanish General Pig-
 natelli, passed the Po, on the 24th of April at
 night, with 12,000 men, and surprized 7,000
 Austrians

Austrians posted at Codogno, where he killed 1,500, and took 2,000 prisoners: after which he ravaged the Milanese, though as he could not maintain his post, he returned on the 10th of May to Placentia; where the main body of the forces, under Don Philip and Count de Gages, were posted under the cannon of the city, with an intention to assemble all their army there.

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HIS Sardinian Majesty, having recovered all the Piedmontese fortresses, and drove Marshal Maillebois into the Milanese, entered that duchy to invade the territories of Genoa; where, on the 31st of May, he reduced Novi, twenty-five miles north west of Genoa; and, after taking Ovado, he advanced towards the Po, with an intention of joining the Austrians, and of bringing the Spaniards and their auxiliaries to an engagement, or of pursuing them into the republic of Genoa.

THE approach of the Piedmontese occasioned Marshal Maillebois to proceed immediately to Placentia, to join the forces under Don Philip, and attack the Austrians before the arrival of his Sardinian Majesty: this design was executed, on the 3^d of June, when the Spanish Prince found himself at the head of 52,000 men, with which it was determined immediately to attack the Austrians in their camp at St. Lazaro, within twenty-two miles of Placentia. Accordingly, on the 4th in the evening, the combined army under Count de Gages, and Marshal Maillebois, advanced with all imaginable silence, and expedition; though neither so secretly nor expeditious as to gain any advantage of the Austrian General, who was prepared to give them a proper reception. The Spaniards, and their auxiliaries, about eleven o'clock, entered the Austrian intrenchments, when a most desperate battle ensued:

PART sued : the Spaniards had 200 pieces of cannon,
VIII. the Austrians only 60; but as the latter were less
 exposed to the fire, they made an havoc equally
 1746. terrible with the Spanish artillery. A continual

fire was reciprocally maintained, and the gloominess of the night gave an additional horror to the scene of slaughter : sharp was the attack, the defence vigorous, and the contention brave, dubious, and resolute : all the night was vigilantly spent in the martial conflict ; and, when morning came, how tremendous was the bloody sight ? for the ground was one pile of carnage, and the dreadful roar of artillery was still increasing the heap. The fire continued, without any intermission, till between nine and ten in the morning ; when Prince Lichtenstein ordered General Bernclau, with 12,000 men, to advance out of the intrenchments, and attack the Spaniards : this order was instantly executed ; the Austrians advanced, with amazing intrepidity ; they were seasonably supported, by another body, of 6,000 men, under General Serbelloni, on the right ; and by General Gorani, with 6,000 men, on the left ; who all behaved with uncommon resolution ; and, notwithstanding the prodigious fire from the Spanish artillery, began the attack with incredible vigour. The battle was now renewed in a more dreadful manner : Count de Gages exerted all the abilities of an able General ; Marshal Maillebois was equally prudent, and diligent ; but all was ineffectual : the Neapolitans and Genoese were intimidated, the Spaniards greatly diminished, and the French unable to resist the torrent of victory : the Austrians prevailed, the combined forces were dismayed, they were broke, they scattered, they fled ; nor scarce could all the activity of their Generals reform
 : but their

their irregular retreat, which, with surprizing CHAP.
difficulty, was at last effected, when they re- II.
turned to Placentia; where the Austrians did not
think proper to continue the pursuit. The com-
bined forces had 9,000 men killed and wound-
ed, and 5,652 taken prisoners; they also lost
ten pieces of cannon, with sixty colours, or
standards: though the Austrians compleated their
victory with the loss of only 4,300 men: but
happy for the Spaniards, and their auxiliaries,
that their retreat was so seasonably made; for
the van of the Piedmontese army was so near as
to hear the firing; and, if they had come up,
the Spaniards, and their allies, must have suf-
fered a general destruction.

1746.

SOME difference arising, the junction of the
Austrians and Piedmontese was not so sudden,
as by their vicinity might have been expected:
so that Count de Gages not only preserved Pla-
centia, but enabled his army, on the 16th of
June, to cross the Po, and extend themselves
over all the open part of the Milanese, between
the Adda and Tessin; by which means they
abounded in provisions, and even threatened
the siege of Pizzighitone. However, his Sardi-
nian Majesty consented to join his forces with the
Imperialists, which was effected, on the 5th of
July; when the king was at the head of 64,000
men, which he commanded in chief, pursuant
to the 6th article of the treaty of Worms;
though Prince Lichtenstein could not attend his
Majesty, on account of an indisposition, and
was succeeded by the Marquis de Botta.

COUNT DE GAGES had left all his sick and
wounded in Placentia, with a garrison of 2,000
men; and his Sardinian Majesty, seeing no hopes
of speedily reducing the place, divided his army,
and

PART

VIII.

1746.

and crossed the Po, above and below that city: by which means he conjectured the Bourbonite Generals would be compelled to a second battle, or to abandon Placentia; or else to endeavour for a retreat towards Tortona and the state of Genoa, or to fight their way forward into the ecclesiastical state, or the Venetian territories; in either of which cases they would give the Austrians and Piedmontese an opportunity to harass, and probably destroy, their troops. The motions of the King of Sardina, on the Po, having obliged the Spaniards, and their auxiliaries, to abandon successively their posts of Marignano, Lodi, Chignolo, St Columbino, and others, which they had between the Lambro and the Adda, and to draw nearer to their intrenchments at Placentia, and upon the Po, determined them, at last, to take the desperate resolution of passing that river, to attempt a retreat towards Tortona. For this purpose they drew down their boats from the Lambro, and brought up those which they had at Placentia, and with them laid two bridges over the Po, between the mouth of the Lambro and that of the Tidone, near the castles of la Corta di St Andrea: they were finished on the 30th of July in the evening; and, their several bodies being drawn together at the bridges, the army began to pass over them the same evening, and all the night. The Marquis de Botta, who was posted, with 26,000 Austrians and 8,000 Piedmontese, on the south-side of the Po, having intelligence, from the parties patrolling along the river, of these dispositions, detached, on the 30th, about six o'clock in the evening, General Serbelloni, with 7,600 men, to obstruct their passage; who marched with all possible expedition;

tion; and, on the road, met Major General CHAP.
Gorani, who, being unable to make head against II.
those that had passed the river, was returning 1746.
with his detachment of 2,000 men, and another
of 300 Piedmontese horse and dragoons, com-
manded by the Chevalier Orecchia. These troops
joined General Serbelloni, and returned to the
bridges; where, being ranged in order of bat-
tle, they began to engage, and maintained their
ground till ten the next morning; when the
Marquis de Botta, who had marched at mid-
night with the remainder of the troops, arrived
upon the Tidone, in the neighbourhood of Rotto
Fredo. Then the battle was renewed with ex-
traordinary fury: the Spaniards, and their auxi-
liaries, despairing of succeeding in their retreat,
behaving with the greatest resolution; and the
Austrians, as desirous of obstructing their inten-
tion, acting with incredible bravery: the vicissi-
tudes of fortune were shewn here in a peculiar
manner; victory was frequently on one side,
and as frequently shifted her auspicious omens to
the other; but, long wavering, she, at last,
fixed her residence with the Austrians; and,
about four in the afternoon, the Spaniards, and
their auxiliaries, gave way, retiring in great dis-
order, and breaking in one upon another, so
that their slaughter was very great, especially of
the French, who, during the action, which was
as hot and violent as any ever known, gave in-
contestible proofs of the bravery of the troops,
and the eminent abilities of their commander.
The Spaniards, and their auxiliaries, retreated
in the best manner to Tortona; but so closely
pursued, by the victorious Austrians, that they
lost a great number of men, and several pieces
of artillery, in the retreat. The Spaniards, and
their

PART their auxiliaries, lost 8,000 men in the engage-
VIII. ment; Don de Candel, a Spanish Lieutenant
 Général, was among the slain; the Count de
 1746. Gages was slightly wounded in the leg, and the
 Marquis de Castellar was dangerously hurt; 1,300
 were taken prisoners; besides the loss of nineteen
 pieces of cannon; and twenty colours or stand-
 ards: the Austrians had only 671 men killed,
 1,574 wounded, and 264 taken prisoners; but
 among the slain was the brave General Bernclau,
 who had so remarkably distinguished himself,
 since the commencement of the war, in the ser-
 vice of her Hungarian Majesty; he was but in
 his 45th year, and consequently very young for
 the achievement of those heroick actions which
 must perpetuate his name in the glorious re-
 cords of antiquity; for, like the great Epa-
 minondas, and Gustavus of Sweden, he fell with
 victory bleeding by his side: General Serbelloni
 was wounded in the thigh, which occasioned his
 death; General Pallavicini was wounded in the
 head, Gorani in the left hand, Fotchgar in the
 knee, and Andlau in the breast. The Spani-
 ards, and their auxiliaries, retreated to Stradella,
 fourteen miles south east of Pavia: but the Mar-
 quis de Botta, instead of pursuing them with his
 whole army, sent the Chevalier Montoya to ac-
 quaint his Sardinian Majesty of what had hap-
 pened; who immediately sent Count Brown,
 the Austrian General who attended him, in a
 ferry-boat over the Po, to confer with the Mar-
 quis de Botta, and concert the march of the
 armies for the pursuit of the Spaniards, and their
 auxiliaries: in the mean time, Prince Piccolomini
 was sent, with a detachment of Piedmontese
 grenadiers, to assist in harrassing the retreating
 forces.

THE Marquis de Botta, the day after the battle of Rotto Fredo, sent General Nadasti, with 6,000 men, to summon Placentia to surrender, who was joined by Major-General Brigueraſque, with 3,000 Piedmonteſe; upon which the officer commanding in the city immediately offered to capitulate, and, the ſame day, delivered up the town and citadel to the Imperial general; who found there, including the garrifon, with the ſick and wounded in the battle of St Lazaro, 9,600 men, which were made priſoners of war; the Auſtrian general alſo found in Placentia 91 pieces of heavy cannon, 32 mortars, 40,000 bombs charged, 300,000 cannon bullets, 14,000 tents, 12,000 fufees, 6,000 pair of piſtols, 8,000 ſabres, 3,000 pieces of cloth, and 30,000 ſacks of corn. However, the Spaniards, by this deſperate battle; opened their way to Genoa; brought off a great part of their troops, with 30 pieces of artillery, and part of their baggage; and, what was more material, the perſon of the royal infant, who was in great danger of being ſurrounded, and obliged to ſurrender, with the reſt of the army, at diſcretion: this was ſo conſiderable an eſcape, that the French monarch ordered te deum to be ſung for it at Paris; though the Spaniards, after an immense expence of blood and treaſure, found all their ſchemes fruſtrated for promoting the eſtabliſhment of a kingdom for Don Philip in Italy, having, out of 104,000 men, and 30,000 recruits, which they had in that country ſince the commencement of the campaign in 1744, brought off no more than 26,000 into the territories of Genoa; all the reſt being either ſlain, taken, or deſerted.

PART. THE King of Sardinia, and General Brown,
VIII. conducted the Piedmontese army over the Po,
 on the 1st of August, in the neighbourhood of
 Pavia; and joined the Marquis de Botta on the
 3d; when the united army advanced to Tor-
 rona, which was evacuated on their approach:
 while the Spaniards, and their auxiliaries, hastened
 into the Riviera of Genoa, where they were
 closely pursued, even to the metropolis of that
 republic; which the French and Spaniards aban-
 doned, on the 22d of August, having lost 47,000
 men since the beginning of the campaign, of
 which 24,785 were taken prisoners: this so ex-
 asperated the court of Madrid, that Count de
 Gages was removed from his command, and the
 Marquis de la Mina, re-appointed general in
 his room. The French, Spaniards, and Nea-
 politans, retired into Provence; leaving the
 Genoese, who were reduced to 40,000 men, to
 defend their own capital, which was in danger
 of a siege from the victorious army.



CHAPTER III.

An account of the nature, state, and constitution of the GENOESE republic: the surrender of GENOA to the AUSTRIAN General: the revolt of the GENOESE; and the expulsion of the AUSTRIANS. The invasion of PROVENCE, by General BROWN: the siege of ANTIBES: and the retreat of the AUSTRIAN General over the VAR.

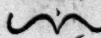


THE territory of Genoa comprehends the country anciently called Liguria Maritima, lying in the form of a crescent, on the Mediterranean sea, from the town of Ventimiglia on the west, to the republic of Lucca on the east; being separated, by the Appennine mountains, from the countries of Nice, Piedmont, the Montferrat, the Milanese, and Parmesan, on the north; and having the Mediterranean sea on the south; the whole country being 150 miles in length, though nowhere extending twenty miles from the sea, and in some places not above ten, so that it is properly called the Riviera, or coast, of Genoa.

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PART The Romans were formerly in possession of it
VIII. by right or conquest ; but, on the declension of

1746.  bards, or Lombards ; and, when their kingdom was ruined by Charlemagne, it submitted to him, and his successors ; till, in 1099, the inhabitants threw off the yoke of foreigners, and the city chose consuls to govern their republic. From this æra the Genoese date their annals of liberty ; whence it appears, that this republic had subsisted 647 years, when the Austrians came before it : however they have often altered their government, and more frequently their masters ; they have been several times subdued ; sometimes reduced almost to the condition of slaves ; but, sooner or later, they shook off the yoke, and recovered their liberty. After several variations in the legislature, the Genoese submitted four times to the French, once to the Marquis of Montferrat, thrice to the Dukes of Milan, and, in 1522, to the Marquis de Pescara, General for the Emperor Charles V. who expelled the French. At that time the great Andrew Doria, deservedly styled the glorious deliverer of the common-wealth, collected a small fleet, with which he maintained the scale in Italy, against the contending powers of France and Spain, by artfully and frequently attaching himself to one and then to the other ; though he never altered his principle of love to his country : by his assistance, the Imperialists obliged the French finally to abandon the republic, in 1527 ; when his grateful countrymen offered him the ducal sovereignty, the emperor solicited him to accept it, but Doria insisted on the absolute freedom of the state, and established the present form of government.

THE legislative power of the Genoese is properly an oligarchy, consisting of the doge, who is decorated with all the ornaments of majesty, particularly with the regalia on account of their right to the kingdom of Corsica, where there was formerly a Saracen king: the doge is elected every two years; he is assisted by twelve of the principal senators, called the signiory; who, with 400 of the nobility and principal citizens, elect annually out of the freemen, compose the great senate, to which is committed the administration of the government. It would have been well for the republic of Genoa if she had followed the example of her sister of Venice, in not permitting her nobles to make any purchases of lands or houses in the dominions of a foreign prince: for, at present, the greatest families among the Genoese, had their principal possessions in Naples; which, in a great measure, put them under the jurisdiction of his Sicilian Majesty: this always subjected them to the possessors of that monarchy, both Austrians and Spaniards, who taxed them very high upon every occasion; and the Spaniards were so sensible of the advantage this gave them over the republic, that they would not suffer a Neapolitan to buy the lands of a Genoese, who was to find a purchaser among his own countrymen, if he was inclinable to sell: for this reason, as well as on account of the great sums which the Spanish government owed the Genoese, they were under a necessity of being in that interest, if they had been no ways offended by the treaty of Worms. The ordinary revenue of the government is computed at 200,000 *l.* a year, but this can receive a great augmentation by the opulence of many particular subjects; though the commu-

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VIII.

nity are extremely poor ; and indeed, in almost every European state, it is a common observation, that where the governors live in the greatest magnificence, there the people shew the greatest marks of poverty : the common forces of the republic are 5,000 men, which can be immediately augmented to 20,000 ; though, upon cases of the utmost necessity, the republic has seen 100,000 of her subjects in arms, either for the preservation, or the recovery, of their liberties. Formerly the Genoese were considered in a very important light, on account of their maritime force ; but of late, they had been no ways respectable at sea ; their fleet, that anciently gained so many victories over the Saracens, Pisans, Venetians, Turks, and Spaniards ; that made them masters of Crete, Sardinia, Majorca, Minorca, Negropont, Lesbos, and Malta ; that settled them in Scio, Smyrna, Achaia, Theodosia, and several other towns on the confines of Europe, had been long reduced to six galleys ; and when they made an addition of but a few new ones, Lewis XIV. sent his orders to suppress them, telling the republic, at the same time, that he knew very well how many they had occasion for : however the Genoese, within a few years afterwards, erected a company of assurance, on purpose to encourage their subjects to venture upon long voyages, and, if possible, to recover their ancient reputation as a maritime power.

THE Italian proverb says of the Genoese, " That they have a sea without fish, land without trees, and men without faith ;" which was the identical character of the ancient Ligurians. The principal manufactories of Genoa are rich silks, velvets, and brocades ; of which they

they export a considerable quantity, together CHAP.
with wines, oil, fruits, anchovies, sweet-meats, III.
and several sorts of drugs : the republic is but a
barren spot, having but little arable land ; so 1746.

that they are frequently obliged to procure corn from Naples, Sicily, and other foreign countries ; which, in time of war, might be intercepted, as well as their manufactures, whereby the state would be greatly impoverished : add, to this, that the bank of St George, made up of such branches of the revenues as were set apart and appropriated to the discharge of several sums, that had been borrowed from private persons during the exigencies of the common-wealth, is perpetually endangered during any commotions in which the republic is an accessory party ; besides, the house of Austria, as well as the crown of Spain, was greatly indebted to this fund, the destruction of which must necessarily involve the state in the utmost perplexities ; for whatever inconveniencies it had laboured under, the Genoese never entertained a thought of violating the public credit, or of alienating any part of these revenues to other uses than to what they had been thus assigned.

THE city of Genoa is part of it situated on a level strand near the sea, which rises gradually to the top of the hill on which the whole city is built ; the houses rising like the seats of a theatre, and affording the noblest view of any place in the world from the sea : for the many beautiful palaces standing along the shore, and the houses in the city, which are generally painted on the outside, look so extremely gay and lively, that their magnificence seems incomparable. The street Balbi, and the new street, are most sumptuously grand and splendid ; the latter, in

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the opinion of Mr Addison, being a double range of palaces, from one end to the other, built with an excellent fancy, and fit for the greatest princes to inhabit, the fronts of several of them being entirely of marble : and Baron Pollnitz says, that, among all the towns of Italy, Genoa is, with justice, called the superb ; for that there is not a city in Europe, where there are more spacious and magnificent palaces, and where the houses are in general better built. The circumference of the city is six miles, surrounded by a wall, and other fortifications ; at a little distance, is another wall, which takes in the eminencies that command the place ; and there are thirty parish churches, twenty colleges, and as many convents and religious houses, in the city, which is the see of an archbishopric. The harbour is large and deep, but exposed to the south-west wind, only there is a mole for the security of their galleys, and small vessels ; the city lies pretty much exposed to a bombardment, as they experienced in 1684, when it was bombarded, by order of Lewis XIV. for their attachment to the house of Austria ; and the Marquis de Seignelai, who was the minister of his revenge, discharged his commission so faithfully, that, from the 18th of May to the 28th, he caused 13,000 bombs to be thrown into the town : this caused a lamentable destruction among the noble edifices of so beautiful a city ; and the Genoese were obliged to submit to the highest indignity, by sending four senators into France, to make their submission to the imperious monarch by the mouth of the doge, whose title was to be kept up, though, according to the laws of the republic, he loses it the moment he stirs a foot out of the city : however, since that time, a new mole was erected,

erected, and several additional fortifications to
the sea.

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THE victorious Austrians, and Piedmontese, on the 4th of September, appeared before Genoa, and immediately summoned the city to surrender: the Genoese were left to the mercy of the pursuers; the colleges assembled; they thought themselves incapable of defending their city; a capitulation was demanded; and deputies were sent to treat with the Austrian general; who, on the next day, sent the following conditions to the principal members of the republic:

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1st. " THAT all the gates of the city should be delivered to the Austrians.

2d. " THAT the garrison of the city should remain prisoners of war; and the deserters, who declared themselves such immediately, should be pardoned.

3d. " THAT all artillery, arms, ammunition, found in Genoa, should be given up to the commander of the Austrian artillery; and all provisions, in which was comprehended cloth, regimentals, and such like necessaries, should be delivered up to the Imperial commissary.

4th. " THAT the republic should order all her subjects, so long as this war should subsist, not to commit any hostility against the Austrian troops, nor any of their allies.

5th. " THAT free access should be given to all English ships into the port of Genoa, and of all other nations, allies, or friends, to her Imperial majesty.

6th. " THAT all the effects, and moveables, belonging to the French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, should be faithfully delivered to the
" deputy

“ deputy commissary; and the republic should
 “ give up all the French, Spaniards, and Nea-
 “ politans, who were in Genoa, or the circum-
 “ jacent places.

7th. “ THAT the castle of Gavi should be
 “ surrendered.

8th. “ THAT free passage should be granted
 “ to the Imperialists, and their allies, through
 “ all the places belonging to the republic.

9th. “ THAT the doge, with six of the
 “ principal senators, should repair, within a
 “ month, to Vienna, to implore the clemency
 “ of her Imperial majesty, and beg her par-
 “ don.

10th. “ THAT all the officers of her Impe-
 “ rial majesty, as well as those of her allies,
 “ who had been made prisoners of war, and all
 “ other persons depending upon her Imperial
 “ majesty, and her allies, taken in the territo-
 “ ries of Genoa, should have their liberty.

11th. “ THAT 50,000 sequins should be im-
 “ mediately paid and divided between the Aus-
 “ trian troops, independently of the contribu-
 “ tions; upon which footing the troops should
 “ be obliged to keep good order, and pay for
 “ every thing with ready money.

12th. “ THAT this provisional convention
 “ should have its force till it should be signed,
 “ or otherwise ordered, by her majesty: in the
 “ mean time four senators should be sent to
 “ Milan as hostages, and should continue there
 “ till the court of Vienna would permit them
 “ to return: and that the present convention
 “ should be signed by the doge and all the se-
 “ nators, in the name of the republic, and
 “ each of them should set this particular seal
 “ to it.”

To

To the above were added the three following CHAP.
III.
separate articles:

- 1st. " THAT the republic should pay what-
" ever arrears were due to the Imperial army. 1746.
- 2d. " THAT they should likewise pay her
" Imperial majesty eight millions of genouins,
" and the King of Sardinia Six.
- 3d. " THAT they should deliver up what-
" ever belonged to the treasures of her ma-
" jesty's enemies, amounting to six millions
" more.

BESIDES these mortifying terms, the jewels which were pledged by the court of Vienna, for two millions of genouins, were delivered up, and another debt of two millions was cancelled; 75,000 doubloons, part of the treasure belonging to the Royal Infant, was delivered up; and the doge, desiring that they might have leave to treat for the preservation of their artillery, was answered, that nothing could be done till further instructions from Vienna: so that, upon these heavy conditions, the treaty of capitulation was signed, on the 6th of September; and the city, which the Genoese council of war had reported indefensible, was delivered up to the Austrians, who settled their head quarters in the suburbs of St Peter d'Arena, at the west end of the city.

As soon as the Marquis de Botta had taken possession of the Genoese metropolis; his Sardinian majesty, and General Brown, with 45,000 Austrians and Piedmontese, began to follow the French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, with an intention of invading the country of Provence; leaving the Marquis de Botta, with 16,000 Austrians and Piedmontese, in possession of Genoa.

GENERAL DE BOTTA disarmed all the Genoese soldiers, being 5,600, and put a guard over that quarter of the town where they resided, as also at the arsenal, the Bisagno or eastern suburb, and the other important posts of the city. A contribution of three millions of genouins, or florins, was soon demanded by the Count de Chotek, the Austrian commissary general, of the deputies of the republic; which, at the value of eight pence farthing sterling, a florin, amounted to 103,125*l.* sterling: the Genoese immediately paid one million; and the remainder being speedily re-demanded, the legislature trebled the taxes on the nobility, and inhabitants of the second and third rank, and imposed a new capitation tax of a sequin a head; which enabled them to pay 900,000 more. The loss of such considerable sums had greatly impoverished the state; they found it would be attended with the utmost difficulty to make up the remainder of the three millions of genouins; and they transmitted an order to the Marquis de Spinola, their resident at Vienna, to represent their necessity, and implore an easement in the third million of genouins of contributions, as well as in the points of exemption from winter quarters, and the compensation which they had demanded for what had been furnished by the republic in hay, straw, wood, and other provisions: but her Imperial majesty, on the 22d of November, sent a rescript to the Marquis de Botta, confirming the capitulation, and the demands of contribution; with orders to declare, to the deputies of the republic, that her final and precise will and pleasure was, "THAT the deputies should immediately pay the 100,000 genouins, remaining in the arrear of the second million, without

“ without bringing one penny to account for CHAP.
“ the compensation for hay, straw, and other III.
“ necessaries. THAT, with regard to the
“ third million of genouins, which in like man- 1746.
“ ner was to be paid, there could no other mo-
“ dification be accepted or allowed, but that
“ the republic should receive the acquittance of
“ the fund of the farm of salt at Milan, for the
“ sum and capital of 600,000 florins, so that
“ the chamber and state of Milan should be
“ thereby discharged, and should have nothing
“ to do therewith: that the deputies should
“ charge themselves with the payment of the
“ assignations of the purveyors and contractors
“ of the army, to the amount of 400,000 florins,
“ which account should be settled within a year:
“ that, as it was the intention of her Imperial
“ majesty, no other capital should be accepted,
“ the remainder of the third million must be
“ satisfied in ready money, or in bills of ex-
“ change, payable without delay, or at least in
“ bills of cartolaris payable by the bank of St
“ George: and, with respect to the magazines
“ that had been restored, the city must purchase
“ them by the effective and immediate payment
“ of 200,000 florins. THAT, for what con-
“ cerned winter quarters, as the demands made
“ for the subsistence of the Imperial regiments
“ amounted to the sum irrevocably fixed of
“ another million of genouins, and this subsis-
“ tence ought to be considered as an ordinary
“ and a current expence, so it was not possible it
“ should be satisfied by paper, or any assigna-
“ tion; and therefore this last million must be
“ paid within a month.” The Austrian com-
“ miffary, on the 30th of November, communi-
“ cated the purport of this rescript to the deputies

of

PART of Genoa, advising them that he could not allow them any more than forty-eight hours to execute the commands of her Imperial majesty; *VIII.* *1746.* informing them also, that, if they were defective in a proper satisfaction upon these points, her Imperial majesty had expressly commanded the Marquis de Botta, to whom her sovereign intentions were known, to proceed immediately to the execution of the means prescribed to him. This occasioned extraordinary debates in an assembly of the senate; the senators were so agitated that several of them were very near offering violence to each other; and the doge, seeing the party that opposed the demands of the Imperialists were a third superior than they that were for complying with the demands of her Imperial majesty, adjourned the debates, without putting any question. The populace were now in a ferment; and their turbulency was increased by several of the French and Spanish officers, who were prisoners in the city: reports were industriously spread that the capitulation was illegal, because the people were not consulted; that the heavy contributions which the Imperialists insisted on with so much rigour, enforcing their demands with menaces of fire and sword, were larger than the republic, already impoverished by the unavoidable expences of an unsuccessful war, could possibly supply; and that it was certainly so far from a base and dishonourable attempt, that it was both noble and glorious to endeavour to shake off the yoke, and to free themselves from those chains which oppressive licentiousness, so familiar to success, had imposed: the minds of the populace were sufficiently instigated for a sedition; several of the principal senators concerted how they were to behave;

behave; and, upon the first opportunity, the CHAP. citizens were to rise, and expel the Austrians III. from their posts; while the doge and senate temporized with the Austrian commander, only 1746. to make themselves the more formidable.

SEVERAL of the Genoese ladies, on the 3d of December, intimated, by their letters, to some of their friends in other parts of Italy, that a design of great consequence was in agitation, and a few days would make it appear, that, low as Genoa was fallen, she was not totally abandoned by heaven, or by her allies; and a convenient occasion soon presented itself suitable to the inclinations of those who were either for recovering the liberty of the republic, or defeating the expedition into Provence by an unexpected diversion in Genoa. The whole artillery of Genoa being ceded to the Queen of Hungary, by the capitulation, several of these pieces were ordered for the service of General Brown in Provence, and twelve cannon were actually conveyed to the suburb of St Lazaro, in the east quarter of the city, from whence they were to be transported: but, on the 5th of December, as a company of imperial canonneers were drawing some pieces of artillery from the arsenal to the port, the wheel of a mortar slipped into a channel near the gate of St Thomas, which opens from the western part of the city into the suburb of St Lazaro: this afforded the mutineers a favourable opportunity of assembling; a great number of porters and chairmen drew together at the gate, who looked with an eye that might be said to repeat, what had been whispered some days before, "That the liberty of the republic, and her cannon, would suddenly depart together." The cannonneers invited

PART VIII. vited some of the spectators to assist them; they not only denied, but incommoded the artillery-men; on which an inferior Austrian officer, having in vain desired them to retire, struck one of them with his cane, in hopes that kind of persuasion might have better success: but a shower of stones, with which the officer and his men were suddenly saluted, obliged them to lay aside the business for that day. On the 6th, a company of imperial grenadiers were sent to the same places where this scene had passed, to cover the cannoneers, who had orders to return to their work: the same sort of spectators, that were there the preceding day, were got together again; but in greater numbers, and all of them provided with fire-arms: the like interruption was began, blows ensued, an imperial officer and nineteen grenadiers were killed, and the rest obliged to retire: however, the Marquis de Botta sent three regiments to disperse the mutineers in the street of Balbi and St Thomas, who posted themselves in the bastion of St George, and the hill of the Holy Ghost, which commanded those streets, and prevented any further disturbance for that night. The Austrian general applied to the senate to appease the commotion, who artfully concealed their knowledge of what the populace intended; though they had released the gally-slaves for their assistance; and were stimulating the inhabitants of the country to appear in arms, and be ready to enter the city, on the first signal to be given for that purpose: the senate, on the 7th, ordered fifty men, of the troops of the republic, to take post at the gate of Bisagno; but this was only to cover their transactions: for the populace, at the sound of a certain bell, assembled in an instant, about eight
in

in the morning, to the number of upwards of 10,000, in the suburbs and the city; headed by two mechanical chiefs, the one called Bava, and the other Afforetto: they attacked the gate of Bisagno, without any ceremony, and made themselves masters of it, having defeated a battalion and a company of the regiment of Keil, who had their quarters in the Bisagno, and were surrounded at their post, where 340 were killed, and the rest taken prisoners; though they sold their lives, and their liberty, at an expensive rate: after this the post-office was secured by the populace, and the letters taken away; eight palaces, belonging to such of the senators as were for observing the capitulation, were pillaged; and the arsenal was broke open, where the arms were distributed to the populace, who, before night, formed a little sort of an army, as well in respect to number, which was momentarily increasing, as by the arms and artillery with which they were furnished; so that they took post in the magnificent street of Balbi, where they barricaded the avenues with trunks, chests, tables, and other furniture, of the plundered palaces. These dispositions were interrupted, on the 8th, by the revolvers; who hung out a white flag, and desired a cessation for twenty-four hours; which was continued for several further periods; but with no other view than to deceive the Austrians, and call in the peasants to surround them: some propositions were made to the revolvers; they likewise made propositions on their part, and went so far as to demand hostages: but the Austrian general conceived, that the conditions they demanded were too unreasonable to be granted to the whole republic, much less to the populace, whom he considered as a mu-

PART tinous rabble, in which light their own governors
VIII. also represented them, to elude the vigilance of
the Imperial general.

1746. THE doge and senate, during this suspension of arms, sent an officer of their troops to the Marquis de Botta, with assurances that they had no part at all in this event, and that they were ready to do whatever he should think fit to command them: the marquis gave them instructions to arm the soldiers of the republic, who, to the number of 4 or 5,000, were in and about the city; to the end, that they, the next day, might fall upon the revolvers, on the signal given for the Imperial troops on their side to begin the attack.

THE Imperial general, during the armistice, had posted his troops at the Light-house, St Benigno, and St Angelo, in the suburbs of St Lazaró. The cessation ineffectually expired, about noon, on the 9th; when the Imperial infantry entered into the city, preceded by 100 horse, and some companies of grenadiers: the mutineers saluted them with their cannon, charged with cartridge shot, and made, from the posts which they had occupied, so brisk, so regular, and so continual a fire, as to cause a great destruction among the Austrians: however, some posts were forced by the Imperialists, and a considerable number of prisoners taken, among whom were found several Genoese officers in disguise, and abundance of honourable gentlemen from the galleys, who very frankly owned they had their liberty, upon condition of bearing arms against the Imperialists. The inhabitants of the suburbs were now beginning to rise, and the revolvers in the city were increased to 30,000, who were joined by several French and Spanish officers and

soldiers, although they were prisoners of war ; which occasioned the Imperialists to retire to St Benigno, from whence they were preparing to bombard the city : this incited the people to send Father Visetti, a Jesuit, to the Marquis de Botta, to desire him not to sacrifice the innocent with the guilty, there being great hopes of an accommodation. Hostilities were again suspended in the afternoon ; propositions were renewed ; and the Imperial general promised the evacuation of the gate of St Thomas, and that of the New-Street, with all the places quite to the Light-house, on receiving hostages that the Austrians should not be molested in their quarters, in, at, or near St Peter d'Arena, and the bridge of Cormigliano.

THE Imperialists began to evacuate the places in the city, on the 10th about nine in the morning : but it was no sooner put into execution than the infidelity of the revolvers began to be so apparent, that it was no longer doubted but the government had promoted the insurrection : while the Imperialists were withdrawing, the populace compulsorily took away their hostages ; a terrible fire of artillery and musketry was then made, upon the retreating Austrians, from the Old Mole, the arsenal, Monte Real, and Monte Carigno ; the battalion of Palsi, stationed before the palace of Prince Doria, near the gate of St Thomas, were perfidiously massacred, or made prisoners ; and Count Castiglione, who was returning with the Marquis to St Peter d'Arena, had his horse shot by a cannon ball. All was in arms in the vallies of Polsevera and Bisagno ; upwards of 20,000 peasants joined their countrymen in the city ; and the Imperial general expected his forces to be surrounded, and cut to

pieces : a council of war was held, at seven in the afternoon, by the Austrian general, when it was universally agreed, that the troops were incapable of either regaining, or maintaining, the city ; and it was resolved to secure the important pass of the Bochetta, which covers the state of Genoa towards Lombardy, in order to save what part of the baggage and the military chest they could, to secure a communication with Lombardy, and to take such a position as might admit of waiting for the succours necessary for recovering Genoa.

THE retreat was begun, before day, on the 11th, without being able to withdraw nine companies of grenadiers and fuzileers, of which two were in the Mole, and seven in the Bisagno, who were taken prisoners ; as were also three entire regiments, who were quartered at a distance, and had their orders intercepted ; the Austrians were likewise obliged to abandon their magazines, with a great part of their baggage and equipage, and among the rest were those of the Marquis de Botta and the commissary-general. The Imperialists wanted mules to carry the treasure ; upon which 500 men were drawn out to advance, each of them with 500 genouins ; the baggage followed ; and the whole march would have been happily effected, had not the peasants taken, at Ponte Decimo, five mules loaden with money ; which occasioned them to harass the Austrians for twenty-four hours, till they arrived in the Bochetta, where they securely posted themselves, for receiving the reinforcements, and penetrating again into the republic : they even, on the 18th, reduced Savona, a sea port twenty six miles south-west of Genoa, and made 1,400 Genoese prisoners ; after which they took
Gavi,

Gavi, and kept 6,000 men to guard the passes of the Bochetta ; while the rest of the army took up their winter cantonments in the Milaneſe.

CHAP.
III.

1746.

AFTER the retreat of the Austrians, the Genoese established a council of four ; which was soon after abolished by a general assembly of the people, who formed a new council of thirty-four persons, of all professions, excluding the nobility : this council was to assemble every day for the direction of affairs, and to give an account of their transactions to the general assembly every fortnight : the modern government coined a large quantity of money, having St John the Baptist, patron of the city, on the one side, and PRO LIBERTATE on the reverse ; and they assumed the title of " Chiefs and conservators of the republic." The guards were doubled over the Austrian prisoners, which were about 4,600, including 210 officers. The people kept their general quarters in the street Balbi, at the west end of the city ; they established sixty companies, of fifty men each, for the guard of the town ; and the inhabitants of the vallies of Bisagno and Polsevera held themselves in readiness to act as necessity should require ; while the foreign merchants, and the most opulent citizens, were daily retiring to Leghorn, Pisa, Florence, and Lucca. There were 7,000 regular troops, and 32,000 of the inhabitants under arms in the city, besides 12,000 armed peasants ; though the republic had 90,000 men ready to appear in arms, among them even the monks and foreigners, who were compelled to furnish contributions on the same foot with the natives ; and, the cash not readily offering, it was resolved to

PART make use of the ecclesiastical treasures, to defray
VIII. the current expences.

1746.

THE city, on the 26th of December, received a manifesto from the Marquis de Botta, dated the 21st, summoning all the officers and soldiers of the republic to obey his orders, in the state of Milan, considering them as prisoners of war in virtue of the capitulation; and all the French and Spanish officers, on their parole of honour, to repair thither. The people, far from obeying this manifesto, published another, decreeing capital punishment, and confiscation of estate, to all persons, that should dare to go out of the town on this occasion; requiring, on their part, that the general of the Austrian troops should send back to the bank of St George, the sums taken from thence, and deposited in his hands; likewise to make satisfaction both to the states in general, and to the subjects in particular, for the damages caused by his troops; adding, when these two conditions were fulfilled, it would be time enough to talk of releasing prisoners.

SOME differences happened among the chiefs of the people, on the 28th; but, instead of causing any great disorder, it served only for the conservation of regularity: for all the quarters of the city, had, by common consent, recourse to the doge and senate, whom they supplicated to establish a deputation of six of the wisest and most equitable noblemen of the senate: what they requested was granted, the council of thirty-four was abolished, and Piere Marie Cenavaro, Jerome Serra, John Baptist Grimaldi, Charles de Ferrari, Jérôme Lomellino, and John Marie Scaglia, were appointed the new presidents of the people: on this regulation the quarters, which are twelve in number, formed each

each a regiment; they also raised 120 free companies, of sixty men each; and took the most effectual measures for the preservation of that liberty they had so lately recovered.

CHAP.

III.

1746.

Two officers, on the 3d of January, arrived from the French and Spanish army in Provence, with advice, that it received daily new reinforcements, and that the generals were in hopes of speedily sending assistance to the republic: this intelligence animated the people; they prepared, with the utmost alacrity to raise new outworks, on which they planted 100 pieces of great cannon; and the important pass of Bochetta was ordered to be guarded by the inhabitants of Polsevera, and a body of regular troops. The Imperialists considered this insurrection of the Genoese as both perfidious and cruel; by taking advantage of a confidence reposed in them, on the sanction of the capitulation; and committing a massacre on their conquerors, upon a pretension that the treaty, not having been signed by every individual of the rabble, was invalid; and the Imperialists represented, that, if other nations should adopt maxims equally ridiculous and detestable, war, which was already dreaded as the scourge of heaven, would make every conquered country the sepulchre of its inhabitants; as there would remain no method of securing the acquisition, but by their extirpation. However, the Genoese were of a very different opinion; they gloried in the exploit; and, to transmit the memory of it to latest posterity, they erected a black marble stone, over the gate, at which the Austrians retired, with the following inscription, in letters of gold:

Germanica immanitate pressus,

sub Duce BOTTA,

POPULUS GENUENSIS,

Nullo nisi DEO Duce,

Virginique MARIE nomine invocato,

Die x. Decembris,

Deiparæ LAURETANÆ sacrata,

Hostes, ad portas occidentales,

Multiplici propugnaculo stipatos,

Igne, ferro, cæde

Terruit, vicit, dispersit, fugavit,

Anno Domini M, DCC, XLVI.

That is,

“ To God best and greatest,

“ Drove to extremity by the cruelty of the Germans,

“ under General BOTTA,

“ The people of GENOA,

“ having no general but God,

“ after invoking the Virgin Mary,

“ on the 10th day of December,

“ sacred to the mother of God of LORETTO,

“ their enemies,

“ strongly fortified in the west port,

“ with fire, sword, and slaughter,

“ terrified, overcame, dispersed, and put to flight,

“ in the year of our Lord 1746.”

WHILE the Genoese were making additional fortifications for the security of their city; and the Imperialists lay waiting, in the Milanese, for reinforcements to re-enter the state of Genoa on the abatement of the winter; the Austrians and Piedmontese, under his Sardinian majesty and General Brown, were pursuing the fugitive French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, into the territories of Provence. The shattered troops employed for the service of the Royal Infant were surprizingly diminished; the remainder of the Spaniards did not exceed 2,000 men; and his Sicilian majesty, through the interest of the Elector of Saxony, was permitted to transport the Neapolitan forces from Antibes into his own dominions, on condition of adhering to his former neutrality, which he afterwards cautiously observed: by which the French were exposed to the ravages of an invading enemy, in their southern provinces; while the British fleet, was making a descent on Brittany, in the western part of the French dominions. Marshal Maillebois, having entered Provence, passed the Var, on the 22d of September, leaving some advanced detachments, in fortified places, to interrupt the pursuit of his Sardinian majesty; after which the French began to intrench themselves on the Var, with an intention to dispute the passage, and defend Provence, till the arrival of a sufficient reinforcement. Count de Gages resigned his command to the Marquis de la Minas; and, as the danger was so imminently great, Marshal Belleisle commanded instead of Marshal Maillebois: but, his Sardinian majesty being taken ill of the small pox, the whole expedition into Provence was entrusted to General Brown, who was to be assisted by Vice-Admiral Medley, the commander

CHAP.
III.

1746.

PART commander of the British fleet in the Medi-
 VIII. terranean, and 1,000 men from the garrisons of
 Port-mahon and Gibraltar.

1746.

PROVENCE is called the garden of France, being 100 miles long, and almost as many broad; bounded by the province of Dauphine on the north; by Piedmont, and the Mediterranean, on the east; by the same sea on the south; and by the river Rhone, which separates it from Languedoc, on the west: the whole province, except the contiguous parts to Piedmont, being a fine level country, producing plenty of wine, oil, and fruit; in which are the cities of Marseilles, Aix, Tarascon, Forcalquier, Sisteron, Grace, Draguignan, Arles, Apt, Digne, Moutiers, and Castellane, besides Hieres, Toulon, and several other populous places; the whole province containing, according to a survey taken by the Intendant le Bret in 1698, no less than 222,088 houses, with 1,012,929 inhabitants. Into this beautiful country the Austrian general was penetrating, at the head of forty-seven Imperial battalions, twenty-two Piedmontese battalions, 2,000 Slavonians, 2,000 Carlstadians, 1,000 English from Gibraltar and Port-mahon, and 1,600 Piedmontese horse and hussars, in all 50,000 men, principally veterans: he had dislodged the French from all their posts as far as Nice, with little loss, except the death of General Gorani, who was killed in a skirmish. On the approach of General Brown, and the British squadron, the French abandoned the banks of the Var, on the 7th of November; having razed their redoubts, and retrenchments, and retreated to Grace, fifteen miles S. W. of Nice: the Austrians and Piedmontese, on the 9th, began to pass the Var, and went on without opposition;

position; so that the French were in pain for CHAP.
Toulon and Marseilles, and were hastily forti- III.
fying them, as well as Antibes, which was most
in danger: this occasioned the nobility of Pro- 1746.
vence to mount, and arm, for their defence,
in so expeditious a manner, that Marshal Belle-
isle soon found himself at the head of 20,000
regular forces, and 30,000 militia: however the
French general, having orders not to adventure
a battle, retreated as the Austrians advanced,
who proceeded as far as Draguignan, fourteen
miles S. W. of Grace, raising contributions as
they passed; and there the Imperial general
turned off to Frejus, thirty miles S. W. of Nice,
to cover the siege of Antibes, which was under-
taken by Baron Roth, with twenty-four batta-
lions, on the land side, assisted by a British
squadron at sea.

ANTIBES is a well fortified town, situate on
the Mediterranean, fifteen miles south of Nice,
and sixty miles N. E. of Toulon: it was now
defended by the Chevalier de Sade, with a gar-
rison of 1,800 men; and all the necessary pre-
parations were made for a vigorous defence.
The British squadron, on the 26th of December,
began a severe bombardment, which continued
till the 20th of January, when the Austrian
general opened his trenches: one half of the
town was reduced to ashes; but the governor
made a very gallant defence, and disappointed
every attempt of the besiegers, till the passage
of the Argens was effected by Marshal Belleisle,
who was advancing with a full resolution to at-
tack the Austrian general. The French mar-
shal had now the superiority; he took Castellane,
the most advanced post of the Austrians, where
he made a lieutenant-general and four battalions
prisoners:

PART prisoners: this occasioned Count Brown to abandon the siege of Antibes, and to make a seasonable retreat over the Var; which was executed, on the 30th of January, with inconsiderable loss; when the Austrians and Piedmontese took up their cantonments in the territories of his Sardinian majesty, who was now happily recovered from his indisposition, and was informed of the reduction of Tortona to his obedience; which terminated the campaign in Italy: though not till the inhabitants of Turin had given their monarch a testimony of their reverence for his virtues, by erecting a monument, in his metropolis, upon a marble table, with an inscription, to the following purpose:

VIII.

1746.

The city of Turin,
as an effect of her devotion to the tutelary majesty
of the best and most magnificent of princes:

TO CHARLES EMANUEL,

THE TRIUMPHER,

who,

after having retaken Asti, Alexandria, Acqui,
Casal, Valenza, and Tortona,

defeated the enemy at Placentia and upon the Tidone,
won the fortress of Final, Ventimiglia, and Savona,
subdued Liguria,

obliged the French and Spaniards to repass the Var,
and confirmed the liberty of Italy,

in the year 1746.

SECOND



SECOND DIVISION.

The naval war in ASIA, AMERICA,
and EUROPE.



CHAPTER I.

The naval transactions in the EAST-
INDIES: the reduction of MA-
DRASS, by the FRENCH: and their
defeat at FORT ST DAVIDS.



AFTER the successful acquisition of Cape Breton, the British ministry were concerting a project for reducing Quebec, and all the other colonies held by the French in America; but, while this was only in deliberation, the ministry of Versailles were actually making preparations for the recovery of Cape Breton; besides, they were not only intent on defeating the expedition of Commodore Barnet, in the East-Indies, but had even put into execution a scheme for expelling the British company from their settlements on the coast of Chormandel, CHAP. I. 1746.

PART mandel, in the territories of the Great Mogul,
 VIII. where both the British and French companies
 had their principal settlements, the former at
 1746. Madraſs, and the latter at Pondicherry.

MADRASS, otherwise Madraſſipatam, or Fort St George, is the ſeat of the British preſidency in the Aſiatic Indies, ſituated in the province of Arcot, on the coaſt of Choromandel, in eighty degrees of eaſt longitude, and thirteen of north latitude, being ſeventy miles to the north of Pondicherry: the company purchaſed this ſettlement, and the adjacent territory, of the King of Golconda; but the Mogul, afterwards making a conqueſt of the country, looked upon himſelf intitled to this, as well as the reſt of the towns in that kingdom. The principal commodities, purchaſed of the natives, for the uſe of the company, were calicoes, chints, muſlins, and ſometimes diamonds: this was an extenſive and advantageous commerce, which the company had enjoyed, almoſt in an uninterrupted courſe, for upwards of 100 years: the proximity of Madraſs to Pondicherry occaſioned it to ſuffer in ſome branches of its trade, ſince the peace of Utrecht; from which time the French ſeemed to be more intent upon extending their commerce to, and in, the Eaſt-Indies, where they were become powerful competitors againſt the British company: but, notwithſtanding this clashing of intereſts, Madraſs acquired ſome new advantages; the troubles in Perſia induced many Armenians to leave their country, and ſettle in India, where ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable traders fixed their reſidence and families in the preſidency of Madraſs; the irruption of the Morattaes in Carnatica, in the year 1740, was another event that brought ſeveral eminent and wealthy

wealthy merchants to Madras; insomuch that the settlement was become the admiration of all the Asiatic people, and the envy of all its European neighbours; for it had, a great number of years, brought in a clear annual revenue of 70,000 pagodas, or, reckoning each pagoda at seven shillings and eight-pence, 26,833 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* sterling, by the duties on the trade of the Asiatic inhabitants, and their consumption; which was a sum far exceeding the whole charges of the place, civil and military, according to the establishment in peace: the neat gain, one year with another, on the head of profit and loss in the Madras books, arising from the revenue, silver coinage, with the sale of woollen and other European goods, amounted to near 90,000 pagodas, or 34,500 *l.* sterling, annually, after all charges, civil and military, of the coast were paid: besides the factory generally invested a million of pagodas, or 383,333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* sterling, in the commodities of the country, and usually sent 6,000 bales of calicoes yearly to Europe; which brought a very great accumulation of treasure to the proprietors of the India stock. The French company found a great return of treasure in the Asiatic commerce; but their advantages were still inferior to the English; for, some time before the commencement of the war, the servants of the French East-India-Company were at great expences at Pondicherry, and their subordinate factories, receiving but slow remittances from France; which occasioned them to contract considerable debts in India, to carry on their affairs; and they were conscious that a declaration of war would put a total stop to the arrival of all supplies from Europe, as well as to all further credit in the country; whereby they would presently

CHAP.

I.

1746.

PART sently become out of all capacity to interfere
VIII. with the British company, in the investment for
the European markets. These circumstances
1746. were not immaturity considered by the French
ministry, on the first rupture between the crowns
of Great Britain and Spain : Pondicherry was
put in a proper condition of defence ; and
M. Mahé de la Bourdonnais, the governor of the
isles of France and Bourbon, two settlements,
belonging to the French, in the Indian ocean,
about thirty-four leagues to the eastward of Ma-
dagascar, was sent, in the year 1739, with a
squadron of large ships and 1,500 men, to rein-
force the garrison of their principal settlement
in the territories of the Great Mogul, which
arrived there in 1741. After this precaution,
the French company, though sensible that the
British company had neglected to put their prin-
cipal settlement in a defensible condition, were
willing to establish a neutrality between the two
companies, in case of a war between the two
crowns ; because to extend the flames of war to
such a distant part of the world, must always be
attended with infinite expence, and the success of
the best concerted designs must be always du-
bious from a variety of accidents, which, as they
cannot be foreseen, cannot be provided for : ac-
cordingly, in November 1742, some of the prin-
cipal directors of the French company drew up
their proposals for concluding a convention of
neutrality ; these proposals were confined to three
articles, the first of which was to prevent hos-
tilities in any of the settlements, belonging to the
two companies, in the East-Indies ; the second
was, to grant the ships of either company li-
berty to touch at any of their settlements, and
not only to depart without any obstruction, but

to be furnished with such necessaries as the settle-
ment was in a condition to supply them with ;
and the third was, to restrain the ships of either
company, meeting at sea, from attacking one
another. These proposals were approved of by
their eminencies the Cardinals Fleury and Ten-
cin, and afterwards laid before the French mo-
narch by Monsieur Orry, comptroller-general,
and returned to the French directors ; with an
answer, that his majesty would ratify any condi-
tions stipulated between the two companies. All
this was immediately represented to some of the
principal directors of the British company, who
held a consultation on this important occasion :
but, though they had an absolute power of con-
cluding a general neutrality to the eastward of
the Cape of Good Hope, the proposals of the
French company were rejected ; because the Bri-
tish directors were of opinion, the neutrality
could be of no service, further, than as it might
be agreed on as in the last war betwixt the set-
tlements, when the governors of Madras and
Pondicherry agreed to commit no hostilities
from either of their presidencies ; the British
directors were even of opinion it would be for
the interest of their company, at all events, to
get a squadron of men of war sent into the In-
dies, and though hitherto they had done the
company little service in those parts, yet the
directors thought, as the French ships were then
richly laden, it would be a strong temptation
to look after them. The French company
seemed under a great concern at the rejection of
their proposed neutrality ; pretending, that they
could not conceive what reasons could be given
for opposing the success of a project, which had
no other end than the security and tranquility of

CHAP.

I.

1746.

PART the trade of each company; the execution of
 VIII. which might prevent them expences, and per-
 1746. haps very considerable losses; and, that they
 were the more astonished at the behaviour of the
 British company, because, as they carried on a
 more considerable trade than the French, they
 had the more to lose, and therefore, the greater
 advantage was on their side.

As the British directors persevered in their
 first determination; as Commodore Barnet was
 sent, in the year 1744, with a squadron into the
 Indian ocean, where he made some considerable
 captures; and, as all the hopes of a neutrality
 were dissipated, the French company came to
 the resolution of giving a vigorous exertion to
 their force in the Indies: Accordingly, on the
 11th of April 1745, the French Monarch
 granted Monsieur de la Bourdonnais a commis-
 sion, whereby it was ordered, "That all cap-
 "tains and officers of the India company's
 "ships, should acknowledge him for their com-
 "mander, and to obey him as such, be it that
 "he should go on board any of the said ships,
 "or that he might judge proper to send them on
 "any particular expedition." This commission
 was received by Monsieur de la Bourdonnais, on
 the 6th of January following, at Pondicherry;
 upon which he applied his whole attention how
 to oppress the British company; and, as the most
 effectual way, determined to attempt the reduc-
 tion of Madras, and the other settlements, ra-
 ther than lose his time, in uncertain cruizes, by
 endeavouring to intercept the ships belonging to
 the British company.

CURTIS BARNET, Esq; the commodore of the
 British squadron, died in the Indies, and was
 succeeded in the command by Captain Peyton,
 who

who sent home the Deptford and Diamond, and CHAP.
 was reinforced by three other men of war from I,
 England; when his squadron consisted of the 1746.
 following ships :

| Ships | Commanders | Men | Guns |
|----------------|------------------|-------|----------|
| Medway | Commodore Peyton | 400 | 60 |
| Preston | Lord Northesk | 300 | 50 |
| Harwich | Captain Carteret | 300 | 50 |
| Winchester | Lord Tho. Bertie | 300 | 50 |
| Medway's Prize | Captain Griffith | 240 | 40 |
| Lively | Captain Stevens | 120 | 20 |
| | | Total | 1660 270 |

THE British squadron seemed calculated only for a cruising scheme, either to intercept the French ships, or to lie so in the way as to prevent the success of any of their cruizers; while the safety of the settlements, upon which depended the hopes of securing the trade of both the companies, seemed to be entirely unthought of by the British company, or, if thought of, entirely neglected: though the governor of Madras had frequently complained of the indefensible condition of the principal settlement; and though the French had set them a seasonable example, at Pondicherry, where Monsieur Dupliex, the governor, had strongly fortified the garrison, and where Monsieur de la Bourdonnais had a strong squadron consisting of the Achilles of seventy-four guns, and 700 men; Duc d'Orleans, and the Bourbon of fifty-six guns; the Neptune, and the Phoenix of fifty-four; and the St Louis of forty-four, each with 400 men; the Lis of forty guns, and 300 men; and the Insulaire of twenty guns and 250 men; the last seven being company ships, fitted out as men of war. The British squadron had taken five trading vessels, a privateer, and two

PART sloops, since the first captures of Commodore
VIII. Barnet: but the French commodore had taken
none: and both squadrons were watching the
mutual dispositions of their commanders; the
English lying at their second principal settle-
ment, called Fort St David, ninety miles south
of Fort St George, and twenty miles south of
Pondicherry, where the French commodore was
preparing for an enterprize which he was ready
to put into execution.

1746.

THE British squadron being cruizing, between the coast of Choromandel and the island of Ceylon, at the distance of forty-four leagues to the south-west of Madras, on the 24th of June anchored in Negapatam road; where, at day-break, on the 25th, the British commodore made several ships to the Offing, to which he went out with his squadron, and found them to be the squadron commanded by Commodore de la Bourdonnais, who had lost the *Insulaire* in the river of Bengall: both squadrons prepared for an engagement; but, the wind being light, they could not get up with each other till half an hour past four in the afternoon; at which time the engagement began, and continued till about seven, when it grew dark, and occasioned the separation of both the squadrons: the English having 14 men killed, and 46 wounded; and the French having 27 men killed, and 53 wounded. The two squadrons continued near one another all the succeeding day, without renewing the engagement; but, at four in the afternoon, the British commodore summoned a council of war, when it was agreed to avoid engaging with the enemy, and to proceed to Trinquinale bay, on the north east part of the island of Ceylon, as the French did to Pondicherry.

Com-

Commodore Peyton was refitting his ships till the 3d of August, when he came on the coast, and appeared off Negapatam; where the French commodore came after him to see if he would adventure a general engagement: but, as no such thing was intended, the British squadron disappeared on the 10th of August, and proceeded up the bay of Bengall: upon which the French returned to Pondicherry, where they arrived on the 13th.

CHAP.

I.

1746.

COMMODORE DE LA BOURDONNAIS was intent on the reduction of Madras, for which he had made the necessary preparations; but, as he was desirous of knowing whether the British commodore would endeavour to frustrate the attempt, he appeared before Madras, on the 18th of August, and fired on the Princess Mary, one of the ships belonging to the company, of thirty-six guns and eighty men, which was returned from the ship and the fort: each ship, belonging to the French, gave a broadside as she stood to the northward, and another as she returned, to the southward; when the French commodore stood for Pondicherry to see if Commodore Peyton would repair to Madras, and continue there to defend it. The British commodore, on the 23d of August, stood into Pullicat road, to the northward of Madras; where he sent Lieutenant Wernys on board a vessel in the road, who was there told of all the circumstances of the French attacking the ship Princess Mary, and of their then being between Madras and Pondicherry: upon which Commodore Peyton disappeared, leaving the principal settlement belonging to the British East-India-Company to fall an easy conquest to the French: for Commodore de la Bourdonnais was so animated on

this

1746. this intelligence, that he immediately determined on attacking Madras, before which he arrived, with his whole squadron, on the 3d of September, having 3,200 Europeans on board, with 500 Coffrys, and a considerable number of Cephoys and Peons, the natives of the coast of Choromandel.

THE city of Madras is divided into the white and the black town, the former being 7,000 feet in circumference, and the latter above 4,300; the whole being full two miles in extent. The Governor, Nicholas Morse, Esq; was the principal person in the settlement, who had six counsellors for his assistants; and, for the better regulation of the settlement and commerce, there were six senior merchants, two junior merchants, five factors, ten writers, two ministers, a surgeon, two assay-masters for coining, a judge, an attorney-general, and a secretary; who resided in the white town, where none but Europeans were permitted to live; whose habitations were tolerably well built with brick, having lofty rooms, and flat roofs: they had also an elegant church for the governor, and another for the Portuguese catholics. The black town, which is properly called Madras, or Chinepatan, was inhabited by the Asiatic merchants, Armenians, and other traders, whose buildings made but an indifferent figure, consisting chiefly of thatched cottages; however the people were very numerous, being upwards of 250,000, and many of them very opulent: as they had an universal toleration, a christian church was built for the Armenians; and the Indians had several pagodas, or temples, for the exercise of their religion: the whole city was governed by a mayor and aldermen, who usually held a court in the town-house, where

where justice was administered to the black inhabitants; but disputes between the Europeans were generally determined by the governor, and his council. The fortress, called Fort St George, was seated in the middle of the white town, with the road before it, and a river behind it; being a regular square of about 100 yards, fortified with four bastions of iron stone; where the governor had his residence in a handsome, lofty, square stone building; and where the warehouses belonging to the company were kept. The black town was indefensible, because the walls were too low; those on the east and west side without so much as a ditch before them, and the others were deemed incapable of sustaining the dead weight of cannon, much less the shock of firing them. The white town was in a tenable condition, if the garrison had been properly supplied and augmented: at the north end of this part of the city run a hollow curtain, above 600 feet long, from east to west, which divided it from the black town, at each end whereof stood a bastion, one flank of each, carrying two guns each, defended the wall; but there was no ditch, or other defence, without it; two large gates were in this wall, and the houses of the black town within sixty feet of it: on the east side, towards the sea, from north to south, was above 1,600 feet; but where the wall was tolerably high, it was very narrow, which rendered it extremely weak and defective: at the south end of the white town run another hollow curtain, almost 400 feet in length, from east to west, in the same manner as at the north end, and defended exactly the same, except that there was but one gate close under one of the bastions: the west side, towards the land, was almost

almost 1,700 feet from south to north; where, in some parts, there was no wall at all, in others a very defective one, and but one small battery about midway, between the two bastions, without proper flanks to scour the river, which, towards the north end, run in a curve westward, causing that end of the town to be so much wider than the south; the river being in some places very shallow, especially towards the southward, where there was no wall: there was no communication from one end to the other, but through the streets of the town; the whole being as weak and defective as the other side.

SUCH was the condition of this important settlement when Commodore de la Bourdonnais was preparing to besiege it; such had been the condition for eight years before; and the company still neglected to send a skilful engineer over, notwithstanding Commodore Barnet had apprized the secret committee of the insecurity of their settlement, by a letter, dated on board the *Deptford* in Madras road, on the 24th of Sept. 1745, wherein that experienced and judicious commander represented, "That he must speak
 "his surprize to find a place of such consequence as this was to the company, in such
 "a condition: the works seemed rather built
 "by chance than design; the bastions were
 "placed contrary to all rules, and the curtain
 "was no better than a long unflanked garden
 "wall, and the garrison was so weak, that, if
 "he was governor, he should never sleep sound
 "in a French war, if there were 500 Europeans in Pondicherry: that he had seen, and
 "considered the plan of the works proposed;
 "thought it a very good one, and when it was
 "completed, the town would be sufficiently
 "for-

“ fortified on that side ; but then, that some-
“ thing must be done towards the sea, where
“ there were embrasures for form, not use, there
“ being no rampart to mount guns upon : that
“ the distance between the bastions was very
“ great, and there was again a long weak wall
“ without flank or defence ; so that two sixty
“ gun ships would, in two hours time, make
“ an entire breach, from bastion to bastion.”

CHAP.

I.

1746.

GOVERNOR MORSE, as the company had so long neglected to send a skilful engineer, did all that lay in his power for the security of the place ; and, in 1745, sent for the best he could get from Bombay : but, had the fortifications been in the best order, they would have been of little use, without a sufficient number of men to defend them ; and this was the present case : for though, long before the commencement of the war with France, the company had promised to augment the garrison of Madras to 600 Europeans, exclusive of the gun-room crew ; yet the recruits were so few, that when the French came before it, the whole garrison consisted of only 300 Europeans, twenty-three of which were Portuguese deserters from Goa, thirty-four were in the hospital, and there were such numbers incapable of service that all the effective Europeans to be depended upon did not exceed 200, to which might be added, the crew of the Princess Mary, being eighty men ; and about 200 Topasses, a black, degenerate, wretched race of the ancient Portuguese, and little to be depended upon, as there was not one in ten possessed of any of the necessary requisites for a soldier. The principal officer among the garrison was one Peter Eckman, an ignorant superannuated Swede, who was formerly a common soldier,

dier, and now bore the rank of first lieutenant; he was assisted by two other lieutenants, and seven ensigns: to all which might be added, that though the garrison had near 200 pieces of cannon, yet they wanted men that were capable of playing them; besides that the want of military stores was equal with the paucity of military men.

COMMODORE DE LA BOURDONNAIS was well acquainted with the situation of Madras, the nature of the works, and the strength of the garrison; and, as he had, more than a year past, been preparing, with the assistance of the governor of Pondicherry, to put this long since projected design into execution, the commodore had not neglected to bring with him all engines, and instruments, of war, proper to make his advantage of any defects in the fortifications of Madras. The French, on the 1st of September, landed 600 men, twenty miles to the southward of Madras, which they marched over land to St Thomé, about three miles to the southward of it, and there secured the landing of another part of their men on the 4th, without any interruption from the garrison, which was incapable of sending a detachment considerable enough to make any material opposition: the town was immediately invested on the land side, the French making their grand camp at Chindadre Pettah; while the squadron prevented any relief by sea. Most of the Asiatic inhabitants deserted their dwellings, and flew up into the country with such of their valuable effects as they could carry off; and though the Nabob, or Vice-Roy, of Arcot, was expected to send some assistance to the garrison of Madras, yet such was his avaricious temper, that it could not resist the powerful policy of French corruption, the Nabob preferring the gold

gold of France before the ties of honour, and the security of that settlement from which he had frequently received very rich and valuable presents to engage him in its interest.

CHAP.

I.

1746.

THE garrison immediately abandoned the black town, having withdrawn, or nailed up, all the cannon; in the mean time the French were sending their artillery on shore, and, on the 6th, they got nine mortars planted behind the garden-house, on the north side of the town, and six to the southward, from whence they instantly began to make a vigorous essay of their military skill; chiefly depending upon the reduction of the town by the falling of their shells. The French did little execution on the 7th, when Mr Smith, the engineer, bombardier, and gunner of Madras, died, of a fever: the same afternoon, the French made an expeditious discharge from their mortars, and continued throwing their bombs the rest of the day, and night. On the 8th the besiegers continued the fire from both their bomb batteries on the white town, and before the next morning it was computed they had thrown about 700 shells; though the destruction was not very great in the town, neither were the besiegers much incommoded by the garrison, many of whom had been plundering in the black town, and, what with too much arrack, and too little rest, were become, in a manner, incapable of standing to their arms in the night, or of being properly serviceable in the day. On the 9th, the French played both their bomb batteries so briskly, most part of the day and night, the last especially, that they threw near 500 shells since day-break; some of the ships also firing on the town in the night, accompanied with frequent alarms on the land

land side, occasioned many of the military To-
passies, and all those of the gun-room to desert,
by dropping down from the walls next the sea;
whereby some of the batteries became quite ex-
posed, and defenceless: this awakened all the
fears of the governor and council, for the secu-
rity of the place; they had received advice this
afternoon, that the besiegers were preparing to
raise a large battery, of eighteen pounders, and
had sent for almost all their seamen on shore to
join in a general assault, as it was apprehended,
the next night; besides many of the inhabitants
became importunate with the governor and coun-
cil to surrender.

THE hour thus approaching that must deter-
mine the fate of Madrafs, it was judged neces-
sary to come to some final resolution; and that
the governor and council might take the most
prudent and becoming one, their unhappy cir-
cumstances would admit, the strength of the be-
siegers, and the power of opposition were more
particularly weighed. The military officers were
dubious whether the place was tenable, or no,
against the number of the besiegers: the garri-
son had no place that was bomb-proof to sleep
in: and, from a multitude of other deficiencies,
and discouraging circumstances, there did not
appear the least probability, to the governor and
council, of their being in a capacity to resist the
besiegers, if they assaulted the garrison even the
next night; or should they continue bombard-
ing a day or two longer, though the garrison
might not perhaps lose many men thereby, all
who remained would necessarily become more
enfeebled, and less capable of resistance, be-
cause they were already extremely harrassed and
fatigued, by being three days exposed to the
excessive

excessive heats of that season, and as many CHAP. I.
nights without rest or repose. Upon these con-
siderations, and seeing no hopes of the British
squadron returning to their relief, nor any suc- 1746.
cour coming from the country government, it
was agreed, " That to wait the assault, whether
" the besiegers attacked the white town first,
" or first possessed themselves of the black town,
" could be only to expose the whole to plunder,
" most of the few English in it to massacre,
" and the town itself to the discretion of the
" French: and as the value and importance of
" the settlement, to the company, appeared,
" to the governor and council, of a different
" nature and quality from the common towns
" in Europe to their sovereigns, it seemed more
" for the future interest and credit of the com-
" pany, and the British country in these parts,
" to redeem it, if possible, out of the hands
" of the besiegers, though at the expence of a
" very heavy ranfome, than to sacrifice the lives
" of the best part of their few countrymen,
" and the properties of all the inhabitants, with-
" out a prospect of maintaining the place there-
" by, and consequently without any advantage
" accruing to the public by their obstinacy: it
" was, therefore, resolved to send a deputation
" to Commodore de la Bourdonnais, to see
" what terms could be obtained."

THIS resolution was drawn up, on the 10th
of September, and William Monson, Esq; and
John Hallyburton, Esq; were sent, as deputies,
from the governor to the French camp, to see
what terms would be granted, and if it was
possible to procure the ranfome of the city. The
deputies were honourably treated by Commo-
dore de la Bourdonnais, who entered into a
con-

PART consultation with them, and offered them the
VIII. following conditions :

1746.

“ THAT fort St George, and the town of
“ Madras, and their dependencies, that 21st
“ day of September, at two o'clock in the
“ afternoon, should be delivered up to Mon-
“ sieur de la Bourdonnais, with the whole gar-
“ rison, officers, soldiers, and council; and all
“ the English in general, that were in the fort
“ and town, should remain prisoners of war.

“ THAT all the council, officers, servants,
“ and other English gentlemen of the better
“ fort, should have liberty to go and come
“ wherever it should seem good to them, even to
“ Europe, on condition that they should not
“ bear arms against France, offensively or de-
“ fensively, till they were exchanged, accord-
“ ing to the terms prescribed to the French by
“ Mr Barnet.

“ THAT to facilitate the English gentlemen
“ the ranfome of the place, and to render valid
“ the acts which should in consequence pass, the
“ governor and council should cease to be priso-
“ ners of war, the moment they should enter
“ into negotiation, and Monsieur de la Bour-
“ donnais obliged himself to give them an au-
“ thentic act twenty-four hours before the first
“ sitting.

“ THAT the articles of the capitulation being
“ signed, those of the ranfome should be regu-
“ lated amicably between Monsieur de la Bour-
“ donnais, and the English governor, or his de-
“ puties, who should engage to give up, in good
“ faith, all the effects, merchandize already re-
“ ceived from the merchants, or to be received,
“ the books of accounts, magazines, arsenals,
“ vessels, ammunition, and provision, and all
“ other

“ other goods belonging to the company, with-
“ out being permitted to reserve any thing,
“ whether in matters of gold or silver, mer-
“ chandize, moveables, or other effects what-
“ ever, contained in the fort, the town, or
“ suburbs, to whomsoever they belonged, with-
“ out excepting any thing, in such manner as
“ was the right of war.

CHAP.

I.

1746.

“ THAT the garrison should be conducted
“ to fort St David, as prisoners of war; and
“ if, by ranfome, the town of Madrafs should
“ be re-delivered, the English should be at li-
“ berty to repofsefs their garrison to defend
“ themselves against the country people, for
“ which there should be returned to the French,
“ by the English, an equal number of prisoners;
“ and if they had not, at present, a sufficient
“ number of them, the first Frenchmen that
“ should be made prisoners after the capitula-
“ tion, should be free to the complete number
“ of their garrison.

“ THAT the sailors should be sent to Cudda-
“ lore, and the exchange of them should begin
“ with those who were actually then at Pondi-
“ cherry, and the others should pals in their
“ own ships to England; but they could not
“ bear arms against France until an exchange
“ had been made of a like number of sailors in
“ India or Europe, but in India by preference.

“ THAT, on these conditions, the water-gate
“ should be delivered up to Monsieur de la Bour-
“ donnais; at two o'clock in the afternoon, the
“ gates of the town should be relieved by his
“ troops; and they should make a declaration,
“ to Monsieur de la Bourdonnais, of all mines,
“ countermines, and other subterraneous works
“ charged with powder.”

As

PART.

VIII.

1746.

As the instructions of the French commodore were not to make any new settlement, it followed, of course, he had in his power only this alternative, either to destroy such as he should become master of, or treat for a ransom: the latter was the more adapted to his interest; and, as he had only agreed that it should be regulated in a friendly manner, the British deputies demanded of him a further explanation; when he made them this answer: "Gentlemen, I do not sell honour: the flag of my king shall fly over Madraſs, or I will die at the foot of the walls: in regard to the ransom of the town, and in every thing that is interesting, you shall be satisfied with me; (and, taking the hat of one of the deputies, he said) here is nearly the manner how we will regulate matters; this hat is worth six rupees, you shall give me three or four for it, and so of the rest."

MR HALLYBURTON returned about noon, to the governor, with these conditions, signed by the French commodore; and Mr Monſon was detained in the camp till an answer was received from the governor: but Mr Hallyburton returned to the camp, in the afternoon, with the articles of surrender accepted and signed by the governor; upon which Monsieur de la Bourdonnais entered the town, with part of his men, the rest remaining in the camp. The magazines, warehouses, and other places, were delivered over to the French officers and commissaries, and the English soldiers and sailors were carried on board the French ships in the road; while the governor and council settled, with the French commodore, the price of the ransom, at 1,100,000 pagodas, or 421,666 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* sterl-

sterling, besides a very valuable private present to the commodore; who, upon these terms was willing to evacuate his conquest, and leave the English in full possession of their presidency. 1746.

The French government of Pondicherry ratified the treaty of ransome; but Monsieur de la Bourdonnais was no sooner reembarked for Madras, than the French governor, and his superior council, declared it null and void, by publishing a protest against it, on the 20th of September, thereby declaring, "That the treaty of ransome, made by the pure will, and without lawful authority, of Monsieur de la Bourdonnais, and with prisoners who could not engage for other than themselves, especially in an affair of this importance, was totally void; that they annulled it, and regarded it as if no such thing had happened; and that affairs at Madras should rest upon the foot they were the moment that the capitulation was signed."

To this Governor Morse, on the 25th of September, returned them a counter instrument, in the name of his Britannic Majesty and the East-India-Company, "Protesting against all those who might oppose the full and entire execution of the capitulation, and the conditions agreed upon; rendering them responsible for all that might happen thereupon: he complained farther of the injurious suspicions that had been scattered in public, that the English would not fulfil their engagements; and represented that if the British hostages, if the parole of honour of all Madras, were not sufficient to satisfy the French gentlemen of Pondicherry; the respect which was due to a nation like his, ought, at least to have suspended

“ pended a judgment thus insulting, till the English had failed of their words, which would never come to pass.”

1746.

COMMODORE DE LA BOURDONNAIS was inclinable to perfect the treaty of ranfome; but, though he had put Monsieur de Paradis, who had been appointed by the governor of Pondicherry to command the city of Madrafs, and several of his officers, under an arrest, the commodore was obliged to revoke the terms of the ranfome, and re-demand the parole he had given to the British governor, and council; who, on the 13th of November, were carried prisoners to Pondicherry, while the rest of the English inhabitants were ordered to quit Madrafs: upon which they dispersed to different places, leaving the French in possession of all their effects. The promise of a ranfome was the principal inducement, that prevailed on Governor Morse, to make so speedy a surrender; and if the French had not so perfidiously broke their engagement, the price of the ranfome would have been a very favourable circumstance to the English company: for the French obtained a booty of silver, woollen goods, velvets, copper, iron, lead, and stores for use and sale, to the value of 73,000*l*; in plate, furniture, mint necessities, and other small articles, 12,000*l*; 1,600 bales of callicoes, 7,000 bags of salt petre, and 800 landies of redwood, valued at 72,800*l*. prime cost, in all, 157,800*l*; they also took the Princess Mary, with the Mermaid and Advice, snows employed in the service of the company; to which might be added a much more considerable sum, from the deprivation of so important a branch of commerce, and the loss of revenues; besides the expence of the public buildings, which cost upwards

upwards of 160,000*l*; and which the French intended to demolish, if they had not received fresh instructions, in consequence of the English having taken Cape Breton; which caused the French to alter their measures, with the view of exchanging the one for the other: but though the English afterwards, in pursuance of the general treaty of peace, left Cape Breton in a better condition than when it was taken; yet the French acted very differently at Madras, where they destroyed the fortifications, and principal buildings, before they delivered it up.

COMMODORE DE LA BOURDONNAIS aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of every English settlement on the coast of Choromandel, which he was in a better condition of attempting by the arrival of the Centaur, of seventy-four guns, and 700 men; with the Mars, of fifty-six, and 420 men; and the Brilliant, of fifty guns, and 400 men; from Europe, at Pondicherry, on the 27th of September: but in this he was prevented by a storm, which happened on the 2d of October in the night, and blew so violently hard, as to render the greatest part of the French fleet, then riding in the harbour of Madras, incapable of service: the Duc de Orleans, the Phoenix, and Lys, were foundered; as also were the Advice and Mermaid prizes; the Achilles lost all her masts, and the other ships had the greatest difficulty in disengaging themselves from the outrageous fury of the tempest, in which 1,200 of their men perished, with sixty of the English garrison of Madras, who were on board the Duc de Orleans: an event so much the more favourable at that time for the English, because the French were preparing for the reduction of Fort St David; but the storm prevented the prosecution of

PART the schemes they had formed for the destruction
VIII. of the rest of the British settlements in India.

1746.

COMMODORE DE LA BOURDONNAIS sent four of his disabled ships to refit at the isle of Bourbon, and repaired to Pondicherry, with the remainder of his squadron; leaving Monsieur de Paradis, with 500 men, in possession of Madras; who expected an attack from the Indians, because the Nabob of Arcot had received an order, from his Excellency Nizam Mulmulock, the Grand Vizier, to compel the French to evacuate the town of Madras to the English. The Nabob, on the 17th of October, invested Madras with 900 men; but, on the 22d, 200 of the garrison sallied out and surprized part of the Indian camp; while 300 more, from Pondicherry, attacked the Nabob, at St Thomé, on the 23d at night; and, being joined, the next morning, by a party from Madras, routed the Indians, and compelled the Nabob to retire.

THE reduction of Madras gave the English at Fort St David, Bombay, and Bengal, an opportunity of putting themselves in a more defensible situation; which Governor Hynd very diligently observed, at Fort St David, by strengthening the fortifications, and taking a considerable number of the Indian militia into his pay. On the 8th of December, the greatest part of the French garrison of Pondicherry, consisting of 1,000 regular troops, 200 trained Peons, and many others, arrived within a mile of the bound hedge, of Fort St David, with a large train of artillery: but Governor Hynd detached 1,600 of his military Indians, with orders to attack the French immediately, and harass them, as much as possible, all night; which they did; and, at day-break, began a regular

gular engagement: the French forced their way quite to the garden-house, when the Moors came advancing upon them, and 100 men of the garrison sallying out at the same time, the French, fearing to be surrounded, retreated with great precipitation; and, being closely pursued, lost above 200 men; among them four officers of distinction, with all their tents, ammunition, six camels, two mortars with their shells, two chests of arms, four drums, and all their provisions: after which the French returned to Pondicherry, where they renewed their preparations for another attempt on Fort St David; in which they were also disappointed by the arrival of Commodore Griffin, with three ships of sixty guns, one of fifty, and one of forty, to reinforce the British Squadron.

CHAP.
I.
1746.





CHAPTER II.

An account of the intended armament for reducing the FRENCH settlements in CANADA. The unfortunate expedition of the Duke D'ANVILLE, against the BRITISH settlements in NORTH AMERICA. The expedition of Admiral LESTOCK against BRITANY ; the siege of PORT L'ORIENT ; and other transactions of the BRITISH forces, till their unsuccessful return to ENGLAND. The naval war in the WEST INDIES ; the destruction of LIMA by an earthquake ; and an account of the respective captures in EUROPE and AMERICA.

PART
VIII.

1746.



THE expulsion of the French from their possessions in Canada, and ob-
taining the sole navigation of the
river of St Laurence, had been by
Englishmen, for more than half a
century, thought one of the principal objects
worthy

worthy of their attention, in a war with France. CHAP.
The principal settlement belonging to the French, in this part of America, is Quebec, a large and beautiful city, founded by Samuel Champlain in 1608, situate 120 leagues distance from the sea, on the north west side of the spacious river of St Laurence, the most navigable river in the world, the course of it being 250 leagues from its issue out of the lake of Ontario, to its disemboguing itself into the gulph of St Laurence : this gulph is eighty-eight leagues in length ; the mouth of the river is thirty leagues wide, and it is no where less than from four to five broad up to the Isle of Orleans, within eight leagues of Quebec ; but above that island it narrows so much, that before Quebec the river is not above a mile over, though it there forms a very magnificent harbour, capable of containing 100 men of war of the line ; which makes Quebec extremely remarkable on account of the singularity of its situation, for perhaps it is the only city in the universe that can boast a fresh water harbour, of such dimensions, and at so great a distance from the sea. Quebec is situated in seventy-four degrees of west longitude, and forty-seven deg. thirty-five min. of north latitude ; being 300 miles N. W. of Boston in New England : the buildings are large, and all of stone ; but the inhabitants are not above 7,000 : the city is an episcopal see, and is the residence of the Vice-Roy of Canada, who is stiled Governor and Captain-General of New France and Louisiana, which, according to the French geography, comprehends all Canada and Florida, of which the British colonies are a part, and whose inhabitants the French had long threatened to drive into the sea.

II.

1746.

The Conduct of the Powers of Europe,

THERE are few wealthy people in the colony of Canada ; for, though their commerce is very advantageous, the generosity and gaiety of their tempers makes them live to the utmost extent of their fortunes : the neighbouring inhabitants of the British colonies are of a very different character ; and if strangers were to judge of the two colonies, by the actions and manners of the people, they would pronounce the French to be the most flourishing. In New-England, and other parts of the British empire in America, there reigns, indeed, a wealth, which the possessors seem not to know the value of : in New France there is a poverty concealed by an air of ease and content, which seems natural : commerce, and the improvement of their plantations, strengthen the English ; while the French are only supported by their industry : the English planter amasses riches, and makes no superfluous expences ; the French planter spends what he gets, and frequently makes a shew of what he has not ; the Englishman labours for posterity ; the Frenchman leaves his heirs to struggle with the same difficulties he found himself.

QUEBEC is naturally strong, though not regularly fortified ; but the French have been long at work to render it capable of a siege : they have erected several batteries of cannon, and built a citadel, called Fort St Lewis, which is the residence of the governor, and the principal security of the city : however they have more than once been in danger of a siege. The English, in the year 1670, made an unsuccessful attempt against Quebec ; though the squadron consisted of thirty-four ships, and arrived safely in the harbour before the city. In 1711, a more formidable armament was fitted out, for the same purpose,

purpose, under Sir Hovenden Walker, who CHAP.
commanded the fleet, and General Hill, who II.
commanded the land-forces : but this attempt
was entirely fruitless, chiefly because the naviga-
tion of the river of St Laurence was unknown
to the admiral ; who, contrary to the advice of
his pilot, approaching too near the seven isles,
on the northern coast of the river, lost most of
his principal ships, and 3,000 of his best troops.

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THE reduction of Quebec was now apparently resolved on, by the British ministry, to complete their conquests in the northern parts of America : a large squadron was assembled, in April, at Portsmouth ; a great number of transports were collected ; and several regiments were embarked, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sinclair, for this intended expedition ; which were designed to proceed for Louisburg in Cape Breton ; and, with that garrison, and also with such troops as should be levied, for that purpose, the colonies of North America, to attempt the immediate reduction of Canada. The design was communicated to the respective governors of New England, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, by letters dispatched from the Duke of Newcastle ; wherein the governors were ordered to make the necessary dispositions for raising as many men, within their governments, as the shortness of the time would admit, for proceeding on the expedition. The British colonies readily gave their concurrence, in a design so visibly calculated for their own security, and advantage : the province of the Massachusetts bay signalized their zeal in a manner no ways inferior to what they had done in the preceding year, when Cape Breton fell into their possession ; the great and general council of this province voted

to

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to give all necessary and proper encouragement for enlisting 3,000 volunteers; and the other provinces exerted themselves so strenuously, in following their example, that no less than 10,000 men were ready to co-operate with the regular troops on their arrival in America; which they had the more reason to expect, because William Gooch, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, was appointed to act as major-general in the expedition, and was created a baronet. But though such formidable preparations were made for this undertaking, it served for no other purpose than to alarm the French; who took their advantage of the delays, and procrastinations, made use of to detain this armament at Portsmouth, while the ministry of Versailles sent a strong squadron, with upwards of 3,000 soldiers on board, under the Duke d'Anville, on an expedition against Cape Breton, or Nova Scotia, and for the security of Canada: so that, after several embarkations and debarkations, the British ministry altered the destination of their forces against Quebec, for a descent on Britain.

THE French merchants of St Maloes, whose interest in navigation depended upon the piscatorial trade, had suffered so much by the loss of Cape Breton, that, on the 22d of January, they petitioned the French monarch to permit them to fit out an armament to make an attempt on Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia: but the French ministry advised his majesty to undertake it himself, because the revenue, arising from the fish-trade, would be an ample recompence to him for the expence: the French inhabitants of les Mines, and Seganecto, two districts of Nova Scotia, to the north west of Annapolis Royal, also

also sent a petition to the French monarch, wherein they undertook, with the assistance of two thirty gun ships, to reduce the British fort at Annapolis Royal. Accordingly a strong squadron was ordered to be equipped, at Brest, for this expedition, and the recovery of Cape Breton: the land forces were ordered to be ready to embark; and a great number of transports were assembled, at Port Louis and Rochelle, to accompany the squadron, which consisted of the following ships:

| Ships | Commanders | Guns | Men |
|--------------------|----------------------|------|-----|
| Le Northumberland | Duke D'Anville, Adm. | 70 | 580 |
| Le Trident | V. Adm. Tourmel | 64 | 500 |
| L'Ardent | M. Perier | 64 | 500 |
| Le Mars | Colombe | 64 | 500 |
| Le Leopard | Sergne | 64 | 500 |
| L'Alcide | Crenay | 64 | 500 |
| Le Casibon | Noailles | 60 | 480 |
| Le Tygre | Du Quesne | 56 | 400 |
| Le Mercury | L'Allure | 56 | 400 |
| Le Diamont | Masiae | 50 | 360 |
| Le Boree | Blenac | 50 | 360 |
| La Megare | Kyfan | 30 | 200 |
| L'Argonante | Questain | 26 | 200 |
| Le Prince d'Orange | Fougert | 26 | 200 |

THE whole squadron consisted of eleven ships of the line, three frigates, three fireships, and two bombs, having 6,186 sailors on board; besides twenty privateers, and other vessels, from ten to twenty-four guns; which were also joined by fifty-six sail of transports, laden with stores and provisions, and two tenders with artillery; the whole fleet consisting of ninety-seven sail, having on board the two battalions of the regiment of Ponthieu, the battalion militia of Saumur, the battalion militia of Fontenoy le Comte, and a bat-

PART a battalion of marines, in all 3,500 men; with
 VIII. 40,000 small arms, and a proportionable quantity
 of ammunition, and blankets, for the Canadean
 1746. French and Indians, and those of Nova Scotia,
 which were expected to join them: the land
 forces being commanded by Brigadier-General
 de la Jonquiere, who was declared chef d'escadre,
 and admitted to serve on board the Northum-
 berland in that quality.

THE Duke d'Anville came out of Brest, with his whole squadron, on the 7th of May, and proceeded directly for Port Louis and Rochelle; where he was joined by the whole fleet, which was detained, by contrary winds, till the 22d of June, before they could proceed on their voyage, when they got under sail, and lost sight of land: though, on the 3d of August, they were scarce out of sight of the western islands, by reason of little winds, and almost constant calms. It was the 10th of September before the fleet discovered the coast of Acadia, having met with violent squalls, and terrible weather in their passage, the length of which occasioned a mortality among the forces, and predicted an unfavourable end to their expedition; because they made their arrival in the most unseasonable part of the year.

THE French fleet was ordered to rendezvous in the bay of Chiboustou, on the south east part of Nova Scotia, about eighty leagues to the eastward of Boston in New England, and about sixty leagues to the westward of Louisburg in Cape Breton: they were now off the isle of Sable, about twenty-six leagues to the S. E. of Cape Canso, drawing near to their intended port, and were in hopes of anchoring without accident; but, on the 13th of September, a gale sprung
 up

up at south, and, with a thick fog, separated the fleet; which brought on so violent a storm, that the signals could be neither seen nor heard: the storm continued till the 15th in the morning, when the whole fleet was dispersed, and in a lamentable condition: the *Ardent*, being in great distress, began to steer for Brest; the *Cassion* made the best of her way to the Leeward Islands; the *Alcide* and *Mars* lost each of them a top-mast, and the latter, being very leaky, steered for Martinico, the *Alcide* being ordered to take care of her, but on her return to Europe she was taken by a British man of war; several of the transports were lost; but the Duke d'Anville, with great difficulty, got into the harbour of Chiboctou, with five men of war, and as many transports; from whence he sent a schooner in quest of Vice-Admiral Tourmel, and the rest of the fleet, who did not arrive at Chiboctou till the 27th, when the whole fleet consisted only of seven ships of the line, two frigates, one fireship, one bomb-vessel, twelve privateers and other mercantile vessels of force, and eighteen transports; the whole ninety-seven sail being reduced to no more than fifty-six.

THE duke d'Anville died of an apoplexy, on the 26th of September, at two in the morning, and was buried on a small island, about four miles within the mouth of the harbour of Chiboctou; upon which the command devolved to Vice-Admiral Tourmel, who found his fleet greatly disabled, their numbers diminished by the separation of the other ships, and those at Chiboctou very sickly; he therefore landed the soldiers, and such of the sailors as were indisposed, for their refreshment, where they formed

an

PART an encampment, and were joined by about 7,000

VIII. Canadean French and Indians, including the

Nova Scotians.

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VICE-ADMIRAL TOURMEL, on the 29th of September, called a council of war on board the Trident, which held upwards of seven hours; wherein it was debated what was proper to be underraken: the vice-admiral declared it was impossible to make any attempt upon Cape Breton, and was for immediately attacking Annapolis; because he was apprehensive of the arrival of the British fleet from Portsmouth: but the major part of the council were for refitting the squadron before they proceeded to the bay of Fundy; and the disputes were so high, as to exasperate the vice-admiral in so violent a manner, that, on the 1st of October, he was seized with a fever, and soon after became delirious, which so extremely agitated him, that, imagining himself among the English, he laid his hand on his sword, and ran it through his body, living but just long enough to confer the command on Monsieur de la Jonquiere; who, notwithstanding the diminution and sickness of the forces, flattered himself with success in the conquest of Nova Scotia.

THE French squadron did not pass unnoticed by Admiral Martin; who apprehended their destination was for the recovery of Cape Breton; and, therefore, sent immediately advice of their sailing to Governor Knowles, and Admiral Warren, who had the *Vigilante*, *Canterbury*, and *Pembroke*, of sixty guns; the *Chester*, *Norwich*, and *Hampshire*, of fifty; the *Fowey*, *Kingsale*, *Dover*, and *Torrington*, of forty; the *Shirley* of twenty, and the *Albany* of twelve; so that they expected no danger at *Louisburg*.

Gover-

Governor Shirley took care to reinforce the garrison of Annapolis, by sending three more companies of men, from Boston; which arrived as opportunely, for the succour of the fort, as those he had sent two years ago; on the arrival of which the garrison consisted of seven companies of New England volunteers, and 200 regular troops, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Mascarene, who was preparing to make a vigorous defence, especially as Admiral Warren had sent the Chester and Shirley to his assistance.

A GREAT mortality raged among the French, occasioned by the small-pox; which induced most of the Canadeans to quit the expedition; and the diminution of the French was so extraordinary, that above 1,500 soldiers, and 800 sailors, died at Chiboctou. Monsieur de la Jonquiere had sent advice to the French ministry, that he would keep the seas, to get into the harbour of Annapolis, till the 4th of November, if he did not get in sooner: he made no difficulty of reducing the fort; after which he intended that the large men of war should winter in Casco bay, in the northern part of New England; and, upon the arrival of the news of the surrender of Annapolis in France, he expected a potent fleet, of French and Spanish men of war, would be sent, early in the spring, to reinforce his squadron, and enable him not only to recover Cape Breton, but also to ruin and destroy the frontier settlements of the British colonies; while the French were in possession of Acadia, and obtaining a stronger and immovable footing upon the continent of North America. But the French commander was obliged to suspend the execution of his projects, to concert the preservation of the remainder of his forces,

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forces, and to conduct his shattered squadron to a place of more security than the neighbourhood of an hostile country : a council of war was assembled, on the 10th of October ; and, as the fleet was refitted, it was determined to send four of the smaller men of war, and some of the transports, to Quebec, and to return with the others immediately to Europe. This resolution began to be executed on the 12th, when the enfeebled fleet sailed from Chiboctou, after converting eight of their ships into hospitals ; which returned with a more favourable passage than they found in going.

WHILE the French squadron was sent on an expedition to oppress the British colonies in America ; the British squadron, originally intended for the reduction of Quebec, was ordered to make a descent on the coast of Britany, the north-west province of France ; because such an invasion would facilitate the measures of the Austrian general in Provence, and probably destroy port l'Orient, by which the India-Company of France would be greatly impoverished. Richard Lestock, Esq; was not only relieved from his suspension, for his conduct in the Mediterranean, by the acquittance of the court-martial ; but, on the 7th of June, was appointed Admiral of the Blue, and associated, with Lieutenant-General Sinclair, in the command of the enterprize against Britany : though his former behaviour, when he acted in conjunction with the brave Admiral Mathews, had laid him under such suspicions, as ought, in the opinion of disinterested men, to have amounted to a disqualification. The squadron, appointed for this expedition, continued so long at Portsmouth, that its destination was publicly known, before it

attempted to sail ; it consisted of sixteen ships of CHAP.
the line, eight frigates, and two bomb vessels, IL
besides thirty transports and storeships, having 
on board two battalions of the foot guards, a 1746.
battalion of the Royal Scotch, with the regi-
ments of Harrison, Bragg, Frampton, Richbell,
the Highland regiment commanded by Lord
John Murray, and 200 matrosses and bombar-
diers, in all 5,800 men ; who, after several pro-
crastinations, set sail from Plymouth, on the
14th of September, steering directly for the
coast of Britany, which they made on the 17th,
and, at night, anchored in the road of Polduc, at
the north entry of the bay of Biscay ; but, the
admiral having overshot his port, the fleet was
all the next day beating to windward, to get to
anchor in Quimperlay-bay, between the island
De Grouaes and the main land of Lower Bri-
tany, where Port Louis is situated about seven
miles up the eastern part of the harbour, and
Port l'Orient, on the opposite side, where the
river Blavet disembogues itself into the bay,
about two miles above Port Louis ; the reduction
of which was the principal object of the expe-
dition.

THE appearance of so numerous a fleet, oc-
casioned a prodigious fright among the inhabi-
tants of the coast ; especially as the best of its
militia had been either sent into Flanders, Italy,
or to America with the Duke d'Anville, and
the remainder of the guard-coast militia had
been discharged but the week before : so that if
the British forces had immediately landed, no-
thing could have prevented them from marching
to Port l'Orient, and surprizing the city ; but,
as they did not make their descent till the 20th,
about four in the afternoon, the French took

the advantage of this interval, as much as the time would permit, to get themselves in a better state of defence. Two thousand of the guard-coast militia were assembled, and supported by 300 of the regiments of l'Hopital and Eudicourt; but, as these troops were insufficient to oppose the descent, the British forces were all landed without opposition, and spent the following night in the small parish hamlets.

THE British forces, on the 21st in the morning, took possession of the town of Plemure, about a league distant from Port l'Orient, and there established their general quarters. During this march, the necessary measures were taken by the French, at Port Louis, for preventing the passage of the British ships up the harbour; while the inhabitants of the province were crowding to the defence of Port l'Orient; for which purpose the nobility and gentry mounted on horseback, the town militia was in arms, and such a number of volunteers threw themselves into the city, that the greatest part of them were obliged to be sent back, after the most useful had been selected. Admiral Lestock intended to have ventured a passage, with his ships, under the cannon of Port Louis, in order to attack Port l'Orient by sea and land at the same time; but he could not execute this scheme, on account of the precaution that had been taken to circumvent such an attempt. However, the army marched, on the 22d, from Plemure, to a hill about half a league distant from Port l'Orient; from whence Lieutenant-General Sinclair caused the city to be summoned to surrender: upon which the deputy-governor for the king, the deputy-governor for the India-company, and a brigadier, came, with a flag of truce,
and

and offered to surrender the town, on condition CHAP. that the inhabitants should be unmolested, no II. houses plundered, their magazines to be secured to them, and the British forces to pay for whatever they had. The British general made answer, that he should enter the town on no other terms than as the French king did Ghent and Bruges; insisting upon a contribution of two millions of livres; adding, that the guard-coasts and regular troops, must be prisoners of war, and that the city should be pillaged for four hours: the general gave them three hours to send an answer, which they did with a determinate resolution not to surrender the town upon any such terms.

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THE British forces remained on the same hill till the 23d, waiting for the arrival of the artillery, which the seamen were dragging up to the camp, and when it reached the army, they marched down towards the city; where the inhabitants had got a great number of guns out of the shipping, and mounted them on the ramparts, from whence they began to fire very briskly on the approach of the besiegers. The British engineers, on the 25th of September, in the morning, opened a battery, of twelve pieces of cannon, and a mortar, and played very successfully against the town; which returned the fire from four batteries, of twelve and twenty-four pounders, besides some guns from their shipping, which were brought to flank the besiegers. On the 26th, the besiegers began to fire red-hot shot from six twelve pounders, and threw them into the town very fast; the mortar also continued to play, so successfully, that the town was on fire in several places, but the inhabitants were very expeditious in extinguishing the flames;

while a strong party of the garrison made an attempt to destroy the besiegers battery, by disguising themselves in a dress like that of the Scotch highlanders, and sallying out on the guard at the battery, who let them come so near as to receive their first fire, which discovered the intention of the French, who were saluted with a parcel of grape shot, and drove back with great precipitation. The firing was continued on the 27th; but the French fire was much superior to that of the besiegers, on account of their additional batteries: but notwithstanding the fortifications of the town were so untenable that the magistrates were actually on the point of surrendering the place; they, to their equal joy and surprize, found the fire of the besiegers end with the day, when every thing was carried on in the most secret manner for a retreat, which was effected without any interruption: for the besiegers returned, the same night, to their camp, at Plemure; and reembarked, without any obstacle, on the 28th; leaving four pieces of cannon, the mortar, and a considerable quantity of ammunition and stores, before the city; where they had sixty-one men killed, and forty wounded, during the siege: though the British sailors, in the mean time, plundered and burnt the village of Dovelair and Larn, and ruined all the adjacent country.

THE reembarkation of the British troops being effected, the fleet set sail, on the 1st of October, for the bay of Borneuf, off point Quiberon, to the south of Quimperlay bay; which made the French imagine that the British admiral had a design to attempt something upon the coasts of Poitou or Xaintonge. On the 4th, a body of troops was landed on the Peninsula of Quiberon,

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Quiberon, where they found no opposition; for all the inhabitants got off with the most valuable of their effects: the sailors took possession of Hedic and Houac, two small barren islands inhabited only by fishermen; where they took two forts guarded by twenty-five men each: the Exeter man of war also engaged the Ardent man of war, of sixty-four guns, which had left the squadron under the Duke d'Anville on the dispersion of the fleet off Acadia; the engagement was very obstinate, but the Ardent was run on shore, where the British sailors set her on fire: after which the soldiers were reimbarcated again; and, on the 8th of October, the whole fleet left the coast of France, and returned to England, after exposing themselves to the derision of all Europe: first, by being assembled for an attempt that they did not make, and then for making such an attempt as the nation ought to be for ever ashamed of. This expedition could be calculated for no other purpose, than the making of a long diversion for a large body of French troops, and the entire ruin of their East India company, already much hurt by captures: such an expedition was universally allowed to be a good measure, if it was only to divide the French forces while the invasion of Provence was attempted by General Brown; but its being undertaken after the autumnal equinox, when the sea is dangerous through the whole bay of Biscay, and without the necessary artillery for making of conquests, was no ways meritorious of a national approbation; for this expedition, as conducted, seemed rather a scheme to make all such attempts, for the future, appear impracticable, than either to distress the French, or procure any solid advantage to Bri-

tain; because it was acknowledged by the French, that their coast was exposed, and almost defenceless; by which the English had an opportunity of giving them a sensible blow: but the plundering a few villages, and carrying off cattle, were so far from being a national benefit, though procured at a great national expence, that they could be but of little advantage to the most busy individuals: nor was the invasion of Provence at all facilitated by this insignificant enterprize, which was not considerable enough to draw off a single regiment from the French army on the side of Lombardy.

No material enterprize was attempted in the West Indies, where Vice-Admiral Davers, and the Chevalier de Caylus, continued, with their respective squadrons, at Jamaica and Martinico; from whence they frequently sent detachments to secure the commerce of their own nation, as well as to interrupt the trade of the other; in which the French were more successful than the English: the Spaniards also were diligently employed, in conducting their treasures from the Havanna to Europe; and the three nations were so intent on the security of their navigation, that the respective squadrons, in the West Indies, never attempted any acquisitions on shore. The Spaniards very happily succeeded in conveying their treasure to Spain, where six register ships made their arrival at Corunna, on the 14th of February, under the convoy of a man of war, having on board twelve millions of pieces of eight, and 900 serons of cochineal; however the French were not at first so successful, a part of the British squadron having blocked up a fleet of merchantmen in the harbour of Cape Francois.

THE British men of war, and privateers, had taken so many valuable prizes from the French, in the preceding year, that several of the West India merchants of France made the strongest representations of the miserable state of their affairs to the Count de Maurepas, intendant of the marine; who communicated their complaints to the king; and this occasioned his majesty to publish an edict, for the security of the commerce of his subjects to the American islands, forbidding all captains, and masters of ships, to sail without convoy, under penalty of 500 livres forfeiture, and being obliged to serve a year before the mast, without excuse, on board the ships belonging to his majesty; those who quitted their convoy without reason, were to forfeit 1,000 livres, be imprisoned a year, and their owners to forfeit 1,000 livres besides. The good effects of this prudent regulation were immediately felt, by the uninterrupted voyages of Commodore Conflans; who, on the 29th of April, sailed from Rochelle, in the Terrible man of war, of seventy-four guns, one of sixty-four, one of fifty-four, and another of forty four, with eighty sail of merchantmen under his convoy for Martinico, where they made a very prosperous arrival: the French commodore immediately proceeded on his return for Europe, with eighty sail of merchantmen from Martinico; and though they were met by five English men of war, they were permitted to pass, after a short engagement, with the loss of sixteen merchant-ships, to Corunna, and afterwards to Rochelle; with the loss only of one stragling ship. Commodore Conflans made no continuance at Rochelle, but immediately returned, with another convoy of ninety merchantmen, for Martinico; though Vice-

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Admiral Davers had early intelligence of their sailing, and sent Commodore Cornelius Mitchel, in the *Strafford*, of sixty guns, with the *Lenox* of sixty-four guns commanded by Captain Laurence, the *Plymouth* and *Worcester* of sixty guns, the *Milford* of forty four, and the *Drake* sloop, to intercept them: the British commodore had information, that part of the French fleet were arrived at Port Louis, on the south side of Hispaniola, and others at Leogane; however, as he knew that the greatest part of the convoy were bound to Cape Francois, he kept cruising off Cape Nichola; where, on the 3d of August, he saw the French fleet to leeward, consisting of the four men of war, and sixty of the merchantmen: the British squadron, at seven in the afternoon, was within four miles of the French, when Commodore Mitchel made a signal to speak with all his ships; they got close to him, and every captain was asked his opinion, whether it was better to engage that evening, or defer it to the morning, which last prevailed; with orders to keep in sight all night to windward, and be ready to engage at day-light: but, by the shameful conduct of Commodore Mitchel, the French merchantmen not only escaped in the morning, but Commodore Conflans gave a short chase to some of the British squadron, and held a small engagement, after which he followed his convoy; and, at night, the British commodore ordered his squadron to put out their lights, and make sail, because the French were following them; so that the whole French fleet got into Cape Francois, without the loss of a single ship. After this, Commodore Conflans returned to Europe; and, in his passage, met with a British fleet of merchantmen

chantmen sailing for the Leeward Islands, under CHAP.
convoy of the Woolwich and Severn, men of II.
war, of fifty guns each; but the French com-
modore permitted the merchantmen to pass, and 1746.
attacked the Severn; which, after an obstinate
engagement of two hours, was taken and car-
ried into Brest: however, though the French
had thus successfully convoyed their merchant-
men, they met with an absolute check in the
succeeding year, when the vigilance of the Bri-
tish officers convinced the French of their in-
security, when the British flag is properly sup-
ported.

COMMODORE MITCHEL was afterwards con-
tinued in the command of the Squadron, sta-
tioned for the security of the British Leeward
Islands; but his conduct gave great offence to
the inhabitants, and occasioned frequent com-
plaints from the council and assembly of Antigua,
where the trade was almost suspended by the vigi-
lance of the French privateers, who were suf-
fered to make amazing depredations, while the
British men of war were ranging but of their
stations, in expectation of intercepting some opu-
lent vessel from the Spanish main, instead of be-
ing constantly employed in cruising to wind-
ward, of the British islands, for the protection
of trade. This negligence of the British squa-
dron, not only relieved the French from their
necessity, but gave their privateers such frequent
opportunities of enriching themselves, that up-
wards of fifty were fitted out from the island of
Martinico, who intercepted most of the provi-
sion vessels to Antigua and the adjacent islands,
and met several valuable captures. The con-
duct of Vice-Admiral Davers was irreproach-
able, and this worthy commander died on the
13th

PART 13th of October, of a fever at Jamaica: Com-

VIII. modore Smith was appointed to succeed him in the command; and Commodore Mitchel was

1746. soon afterwards tried by a court martial, for his behaviour in returning from Commodore Conflans, and neglecting the services of his station; when he was mulcted five years pay, and judged incapable of serving again in the royal navy. By this suspension the officers of the fleet had an example, how absolutely requisite it was, for the intimidation of treachery, or cowardice, that a proper punishment should be inflicted where the guilt should be detected: the conduct of Commodore Mitchel was concomitant with the behaviour of Admiral Lestock in the Mediterranean; but had they been subjects to the Ottoman Porte, they had acted with more security for themselves, as well as with more advantage to the nation: for the Turks know no other way of preventing cowardice, or treachery, than to reward or punish according to success: it is the Mahommedan policy to strangle a chief under whom any enterprize miscarries, without any regard to casualties, or even impossibilities: to this violent maxim they owe all their magnificent conquests; for as their generals fought with the bowstring about their necks, they fought desperately! chusing, rather than suffer with infamy after the battle, to fall in it with honour, and, according to their notion, into the embraces of Mahomet, and the beatific joys of paradise. Alas! what is a nation, like Britain, to expect, if cowardice was suffered to march at the head of numbers unpunished, and even not displaced from the ranks and decks which it had shamefully dishonoured? No connection by marriages, no affinity of blood,

blood, should wipe away the stain, or ward off CHAP. I.
the stroke of justice impending over the head of II.
guilt: the father should rather imitate the Roman
consul, and scourge the scandal of his name in
his degenerate issue: a British commander should
remember the conduct of Admiral Blake, one
of the most brave and honest men that ever
commanded an English fleet; who, though he
had procured a ship for his own brother, upon
the supposition that he was a man of courage as
well as himself; yet this brother, whom he
loved with the most fraternal affection, behaving
with cowardice in the first trial, the admiral
sent him home as unworthy of the national pay:
When virtue like this prevails in the breast of
a British commander, honour will become the
brightest jewel of the crown; loyalty will fix
the throne unshaken, and secure succession; li-
berty will diffuse her blessings, from the hero
to the peasant; vice and folly will hide their
heads; wisdom and merit will no longer re-
proach the neglect of power; a Vernon, or a
Mathews, will rise with undiminished glory,
and perpetuate the noble reputation of the Bri-
tish navy; then will plenty fly into the friendly
arms of commerce; then will victory place the
olive in the fair hand of peace; such will al-
ways be the happy effects of a righteous distri-
bution of rewards and punishments.

THE cruizers and privateers, in the West In-
dies, both British, French, and Spanish, made
several considerable captures. On the 2d of
January, a French man of war, of thirty-six
guns, and 250 men, commanded by Captain la
Touch, who made the descent on Anguilla but
six months before, was taken by an English
man of war, and carried into Antigua. Another
French

PART VIII. French man of war, of fifty-four guns, laden with stores and ammunition for several ships

building at Canada, and a large quantity of money for payment of the forces, was taken, on the 4th of August, near the banks of Newfoundland, by the Pembroke man of war of sixty guns: and another French man of war, of twenty-four guns, was taken, on the 12th of October, by a Rhode Island privateer.

On the 3d of April, two Spanish register ships were taken by two privateers of St Kitts, commanded by the Captains Rouse and Purnel, and carried into Jamaica; where the prizes appeared to be so valuable that every foremast man had 350*l*. to his dividend. On the 4th of April, a Spanish galleon was taken on the northern coast of America, by a British man of war of twenty guns, and a privateer, and carried to Boston in New England; being a very opulent prize, with a million sterling in bullion on board. On the 10th of June, the Dublin privateer, a ship of force fitted out by the merchants of that metropolis, and commanded by Capt. Eaton, fell in with a Spanish register ship, called the *Nostra Signora de Begona*, of 400 ton and eighteen guns, to the westward of the Azores, which struck to the privateer, and was carried into Dublin, with the Governor of Guatimala; and a cargo of cochineal, indigo, hides, snuff, and money, to the value of 50,000*l*.

Neither the French or Spaniards took such valuable prizes in the West Indies as the English; though, on the 7th of July, the Albany sloop of war, commanded by Capt. Colby, who sailed express from Louisburg to Admiral Warren at Boston, was taken by the *Castor*, a French man of war, and carried into Chiboustou, where

all

all the English sailors were left among the Indians. The captures of the British men of war, and privateers, this year in America, were not greatly exceeded by the captures taken by both the French and Spaniards: for the French took only the Albany sloop of war, one privateer, and 149 mercantile vessels in America; and the Spaniards took four privateers, and 74 mercantile vessels; so that the whole number of the British ships, that fell, this year, into the hands of the French and Spaniards in America, was one sloop of war, five privateers, and 223 merchant ships: the British cruizers, and privateers, took from the French, three men of war, thirty-eight privateers, two Guinea ships, ninety-four Domingo and Martinico vessels, two from Newfoundland, and four others, in all 143 from the French; they also took from the Spaniards, thirteen privateers, six opulent register ships, and forty-one mercantile vessels, in all, sixty; making the whole list of prizes taken, this year, from the French and Spaniards in America, 200, which was twenty less than what were taken by the French and Spaniards from the English. But war was not the only enemy to the opulency of Spain; its calamities were aggravated by the all-ruling hand of providence; and Lima, the capital of Peru, was swallowed up by a most tremendous earthquake, which began on the 17th of October, and continued till the 10th of November in very frequent and dreadful shocks, when it ended, after causing the destruction of a populous city, six miles in circumference, as well as the fine port of Callao, and upwards of 18,000 inhabitants, together with the public treasure to the amount of three millions of piastres, which had been accumulated there since

PART since the commencement of the war, and was
VIII. not to be conveyed to Europe till the conclu-
sion of a peace.

1746.

THE naval transactions in the European seas, afforded nothing more remarkable than the assistance given, by Vice-Admiral Medley, to the Austrian general, at the siege of Antibes: however the British squadron, in the Mediterranean, acted very vigilantly along the coast of Spain, and the Riviera of Genoa, where they intercepted several Spanish, Genoese, and Neapolitan vessels, with military stores, and provisions, for the forces in Italy: while Commodore Townsend was stationed, with six men of war, off the island of Corsica, to encourage the malecontents to shake off their subjection to the Genoese. The squadron, commanded by Vice-Admiral Martin, for the channel service, was very active in suppressing the French privateers; and when the vice-admiral resigned the command, he was succeeded, in July, by Admiral Anson, who was appointed Vice-Admiral of the Blue; Commodore Gascoyne was promoted to the rank of Real-Admiral of the Blue; and Capt. Griffin was also appointed commodore of a squadron, consisting of five ships, destined to the East Indies for the relief of Commodore Barnet.

THE cruizers and privateers were successful on all sides; and though the French and Spaniards took more than the English, the ballance was in favour of the latter, on account of the extraordinary value of some of the prizes. The Portland man of war, of fifty guns and 300 men, commanded by Capt. Stevens, being on a cruise, on the 26th of February, fell in with the *Augusta*, a French man of war, of fifty guns

guns and 470 men, lately come out of Brest on CHAP. a cruize: the Augusta bore down upon the Portland within pistol shot, and immediately hoisted II. French colours, which was instantly answered 1746. by the Portland: a sharp engagement ensued, which continued two hours and a half, yard-arm and yard-arm; when the Augusta was greatly disabled, and struck, after having forty-seven men killed, and ninety-four wounded; but the Portland happened to have only five killed and fourteen wounded, and brought her prize into Plymouth. The Portland, on the 19th of November, also fell in with the Subtile, a French man of war, of twenty-six guns, and 194 men, belonging to Brest; which was taken seventy-three leagues W. S. W. from Ushant, and brought into Torbay. The Nottingham, of sixty guns, commanded by Capt. Saumarez, being on a cruize, to the S. W. of Cape Clear, on the 11th of October, fell in with the Mars of sixty-four guns and 500 men, commanded by Monsieur Colombe, which was one of the ships that separated from the Duke d'Anville off Acadia, and was on her return from Martinico; the engagement continued two hours, when the Mars struck, having lost twenty-three men killed and nineteen wounded; the Nottingham had only three men killed and nine wounded, and brought the prize into Plymouth. On the 24th of November, the Namur chaced into the Squadron commanded by Vice-Admiral Anson, the Mercury, lately a French ship of war, of fifty-six guns and 400 men, but then serving as an hospital ship to the French Squadron lately commanded by the Duke d'Anville: the Mercury, being a good sailor, was got a-head of the remains of the French Squadron, and steering directly

PART rectly for Brest, when she was taken. On the
VIII. 26th of December, the Gloucester of fifty guns,
 1746. commanded by Capt. Saunders, and the Lark
 of forty guns, commanded by Capt. Cheap, fell
 in with, and took, the Fort de Nantz, a Spanish
 galleon, of thirty-two guns and 200 men, bur-
 then 650 ton, from La Vera Cruz, and the
 Havanna, for Cadiz, with 105 chests of silver
 registered, each chest containing about 3,000
 dollars, a great quantity of gold and silver un-
 registered, with cocoa, and other things, to the
 value of 300,000*l*; which was brought into
 Plymouth.

THE French, this year, took from the Eng-
 lish, one man of war, a sloop of war, eight
 privateers, and 318 merchant vessels in the Eu-
 ropean seas; which, with the captures in Ame-
 rica, made the whole number of the prizes,
 taken, this year, by the French, consist of one
 man of war of fifty guns, two sloops of war,
 nine privateers, one East-Indiaman, and 466
 merchant vessels, in all 479; making the whole
 number of the British ships and vessels, taken,
 by the French, since the declaration of hostili-
 ties, amount to 1,122. The Spaniards, this
 year, took 105 British vessels in the European
 seas, and seventy-eight in America, in all 183;
 which made the whole number of the British
 ships and vessels, taken, by the Spaniards, since
 the 23d of October 1739, amount to 1,071;
 and those taken in the present year, both by the
 French and Spaniards, to consist of 662. The
 British cruizers, and privateers, took nine priva-
 teers, four register ships, and fifteen other Spa-
 nish vessels, in the European seas, which, with
 the captures in America, made the whole loss
 sustained by the Spaniards, during the course of
 this

this year, to consist of twenty-two privateers, CHAP. ten register ships, and fifty-six other mercantile vessels, in all eighty-eight; making the whole number of Spanish ships and vessels, taken, by the English, since the commencement of the war, amount to 1,060. The British cruizers, and privateers, also took, this year, from the French, four men of war, fifty-three privateers, and 203 mercantile vessels, in the European seas, besides seven sloops in the East Indies, in all 270; making, together with the captures in America, the whole number of prizes taken from the French, during the course of this year, to consist of seven men of war, ninety-one privateers, twenty three Turkey ships, five Guinea ships, 143 Martinico and Domingo ships, twenty-one Newfoundland ships, seven sloops belonging to the French company in the East Indies, and 113 other mercantile vessels, in all 410, which was sixty-nine less than the prizes taken this year by the French only, and 164 less than those taken by the French and Spaniards together; making the whole number of prizes taken from the French, since the 24th of March 1744, amount to 1,160, being thirty-eight more than those taken by the French.

the year, to consist of twenty-two privateers, and
ten regular ships, and fifty six other vessels, making
the whole number of Spanish ships and vessels taken, by 1740.

The English, since the commencement of the
war, amount to 1000. The British crews
and privateers, also took, this year, from the
French, ten men of war, fifty three privateers,
and 203 merchant vessels, in the East Indies.
Last besides seven ships in the East Indies, in
all 203 merchant vessels, with the crews in
America, the whole number of prizes taken
from the French, during the course of this
year, to consist of seven men of war, twenty-
one privateers, twenty three Turkey ships, five
Guinea ships, 203 Merchant, and Domingo
ships, twenty one New England ships, seven
ships belonging to the French company in the
East Indies, and 113 other merchant vessels,
in all 400, which was thirteen less than the
prizes taken this year by the French only, and
106 less than those taken by the French and
Spaniards together, making the whole number
of prizes taken from the French, since the year
of 1740, amount to 1740, being thirty
eight more than those taken by the French.

THE
NINTH PART,
IN TWO DIVISIONS.

FIRST DIVISION.

FROM THE
Demises of PHILIP V. King of
SPAIN, and CHRISTIERN VI.
King of DENMARK,

TO THE
End of the CAMPAIGN in MDCCXLVII.

SECOND DIVISION.

THE
Naval war in EUROPE, ASIA, and
AMERICA.

NINTH PART

IN TWO DIVISIONS

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The late of the young King of
 Spain and Christian VII.
 and the Queen of Denmark
 VI and the association between
 the court of London and M.
 for a separate peace. The
 of the young King of
 Denmark. The full contents

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the Dutch of the Imperial
new water partition. The content
and the dissolution of the bat
during the war against France
America
Navy, the means taken for pro
conduct of the British and
tion, and hope defeated. The



FIRST DIVISION.

CHAPTER I.

The state of the SPANISH monarchy,
on the accession of FERDINAND
VI. and the negotiation, between
the courts of LONDON and MA-
DRID, for a separate peace. The
conduct of the young King of
DENMARK. The first congress,
at BREDA, for a general pacifica-
tion; and how defeated. The
conduct of his BRITANNIC ma-
jesty; the measures taken for pro-
secuting the war against FRANCE;
and the dissolution of the BRI-
TISH parliament. The conduct
of the DUTCH; of the IMPERIAL
princes,

*The Conduct of the Powers of Europe,
princes, and circles; of the
GRAND SIGNIOR; of the CZA-
RINA; of the court of VIENNA;
and of the court of VERSAILLES.*

PART
IX.

1746.



AR, in all its formidable horrors, had now abated the spirit of pride, of obstinacy, of avarice, and ambition: the martial flame had spread, in a conflagration, from the Moldau to the Scheld, and from the Scheld to the Po; while opponent navies erupted their destructive thunders round every frequented part of the cerulean world: the continuance of these European troubles impoverished the rich, debilitated the potent, and brought the chief of the contending monarchs to the adoption of calmer, more disinterested, and juster sentiments; such as were more sensibly convinced of the calamities of war, were inclinable to obtain the reconciliation of peace; the martial storm was apparently suspended; and a restoration of public tranquillity was ardently expected. Wherever war had extended its influence, there plenty was an involuntary exile; but particularly in the dominions of Spain; where the supplies from America were retarded, or fell into the possession of the English: the Spanish monarch found the war in Italy almost insupportable; his subjects were compelled, every spring, to draw lots who should enter into the military service, which, in their sentiments, was the same thing as who should lose his life, not one man in ten returning from their Italian expedition: the Spaniards had no trade but between the different

different parts of their dominions, which was extremely prejudicial to the mercantile interest, though it kept them from the necessity of maintaining a fleet at sea; in which the king found a private advantage, as the royal navy made no appearance, since the engagement in the Mediterranean with Admiral Mathews, who convinced the Spaniards that a vigilant commander at the head of a British fleet must always endanger the safety of the Spanish navy at sea. The fate of his troops in Italy, the complaints of his subjects at home, and the loss of his American treasures, were sufficient inducements to make the Spanish monarch endeavour to repair his finances, and alleviate the misfortunes of his subjects, by any moderate pacification; but his majesty died, on the 9th of July, in the 63d year of his age, and 46th of his reign, before any measures were concerted for so salutary an

Philip V. of Spain, was succeeded by Ferdinand VI. his eldest son by Maria Louisa Gabriella, daughter of Victor Amadeus Duke of Savoy, the father of the present king of Sardinia. Ferdinand was in his thirty-second year when he ascended the throne; he was married to Donna Maria Magdalena, infant of Portugal, on the 19th of January 1729, but had no issue; he had been always esteemed as a friend to the British nation, because he was sensible of the advantages resulting from a commerce between that kingdom and his own; his attachment to France was inconsiderable, and his inclinations were thoroughly known at the court of Versailles, because he had defeated a project of the French faction, in the year 1743, when they wanted his Catholic majesty to give up the whole island

PART of Hispaniola to France, in consideration of the charge that crown had been at in sending a fleet for defence of the Spanish West Indies; the young monarch had no reason to shew the least indulgence to his ambitious step-mother, especially as through her influence he led a life, for many years, scarce supportable to one of his high dignity, being not only excluded from court, but even deprived of the society he most affected among his friends; which made it generally apprehended, that he would cease the expenditure of blood and treasure in Italy; by concluding a separate peace with Britain.

IX.
1746.

FERDINAND was crowned King of Spain, on the 1st of August, with the greatest magnificence, and to the universal joy of his subjects, who expected, from the pacific disposition of their new sovereign, to be relieved from all the perplexities of war; and his majesty was so desirous of promoting their felicity, that, immediately after his coronation, he thus addressed his nobles: “*My noble lords, and great good men,* Be

“ assured the whole future business of my life, shall tend, with the assistance of the Almighty, to the promoting the honour and happiness of Spain, and the welfare of my dear countrymen: I shall set out with a hearty endeavour to terminate, as soon as possible, the present distracting troubles of Europe; though my best endeavours, through the prevailing ambition of princes, may prove fruitless: but the manner in which I shall act, with regard to those which more nearly concern these kingdoms, I trust, will not be inconsistent with the glory of Spain, or appear in your eyes, unworthy the high dignity this day consummated.” The young monarch began

his

his reign with an example of frugality; by CHAP. I
retrenching several expences of the court; he IX
found his subjects almost unanimous in a detesta-
tion of France, and desirous for a peace with 1746.
England; and he nominated Don Joseph de
Carvajal y Lancastre president of his council of
state, with power to confer with foreign mini-
sters, and to report their propositions to his
majesty, without advising with any of the privy
council; which predicted the fall of the Mar-
quis de Eslenada. His majesty diligently ex-
amined the state and condition of his domin-
ions; and he found that the Spaniards, by a
long series of mismanagement, had brought
their affairs into so wretched a situation, that
they neither had, nor could have, the one half
of the treasures arising from their vast domin-
ions in America; he found that they were pro-
perly the stewards for the rest of Europe; be-
cause the gold, silver, and rich commodities of
the Indies, were returned in exchange for the
goods and manufactures of Europe, which ge-
nerally belonged to other nations, though none
but the subjects of Spain were permitted to car-
ry on this extensive branch of commerce, which
they collusively transacted on foreign property;
whereby the Spanish merchants make themselves
only factors for other nations, and pay the
greatest part of their returns from the West In-
dies to their constituents: the young monarch was
conscious how much his subjects were impoverished
by the war; he found that the French ministers
had neglected the real interest of his father; and,
after maturely weighing these considerations, he
not only manifested a disposition of resentment
to the French; but actually made several overtures
for terminating the differences with England.

PART. A GOOD understanding subsisted between the

IXI King of Portugal and his son-in-law Ferdinand ;
his Portuguese majesty was a very proper mediator
1746. for peace ; and the Marquis de Tabernega,

a Spanish nobleman, formerly a favourite of the new king, when prince of Asturias, who had long resided in England, was sent, by the British ministry, to Madrid, and entrusted with proposals to his Catholic majesty : the marquis went only to Lisbon, where he was joined by Benjamin Keene, Esq; the British minister at the court of Portugal, who assisted in the negotiation, which was immediately set on foot for an accommodation ; couriers were frequently dispatched from Lisbon to Madrid ; but the Marquis de Tabernega never made his appearance at the Spanish court, where the Bishop of Rennes incessantly laboured to insinuate himself into the affection of the king ; so that the negotiation subsided with no immediate prospect of pacific measures. If the relinquishing of this negotiation was not an impolitic step, it certainly was an unhappy one : peace would then have been of inestimable utility to Spain ; nor would it have been less beneficial to Britain and her allies : for the separating France and Spain, was of more consequence to England than a victorious campaign ; and an accommodation with Spain could not fail of producing that desirable effect ; nor, indeed, could any expedient have been produced, which bid so far to satisfy all the contending parties, as such a pacification : those Englishmen who delighted in war, might still have had a war with France for their amusement ; those who were solicitous for a peace, would have compounded for a peace with Spain on equal and honourable terms ; as to the body

of the people, they would have cheerfully prosecuted the quarrel with France for half a century together, on the single condition of having the freedom of their commerce re-established, which alone occasioned the Spanish war : and even as to the British allies, it was afterwards shewn, by experience, that their interest was as much concerned in the acceptance as that of Britain ; for Guastalla was not mentioned in the establishment required for Don Philip ; and, over and above the immediate restitution of Savoy, the King of Sardinia would have been left in possession of Final, and probably Savona, both which he was afterwards obliged to relinquish : besides, on the separation of the French and Spanish armies, the former would soon have been obliged to quit Italy ; the Genoese must have submitted to the superior power of the allies ; and, nothing farther being to be apprehended from the Neapolitan forces, they might have entered France on that side, without dread or danger of being recalled, and created such a division as might have operated to Flanders : add, to all this, that the moment Spain was become a neutral power, what by the increase of the British commerce, and the absolute ruin of the French, the ballance in point of wealth would have been on the side of Britain ; and wherever wealth is, credit and power are sure to follow ; so that this was a favourable opportunity of reducing France, and prescribing the terms of peace to her : but the omission continued Spain in the joint pursuit with France, which gave the one time to recover herself in Italy, and the other to dictate her will from the Bastions of the strongest places in the United Provinces.

CHAP.

I.

1746.

THE death of his late Catholic majesty was soon followed by that of his daughter, the Dauphiness of France, who died in child-bed two days after her father, without any surviving issue; and this gave the court of Versailles an opportunity of regaining their influence at the court of Dresden, by contracting a marriage between the dauphin and one of the electoral princesses.

CHRISTIERN VI. King of Denmark also died, of a consumption, on the 26th of July, at Hirschholm, in the 47th year of his age, and the 16th of his reign; having been always so attentive to the concerns of the Danish East India company, and the commercial interest of his subjects, that trade was the principal view of his government; for which he had prudently avoided involving himself in the troubles of Europe; and, while he remained a quiet spectator, he found his treasury increased by the subsidies of France, which were paid him only for observing such a neutrality as was otherwise consistent with the interest of Denmark. His Danish majesty was succeeded by his son Frederic V. who was in the twenty-third year of his age, and had been married, about three years before, to the Princess Louisa the youngest daughter of his Britannic majesty; an event, under such circumstances, that seemed unfavourable to the interest of France. The young monarch found himself at the head of the only legal absolute government in Europe, perhaps in the world, where the subjects felt fewer evils from the want of liberty, than in other nations are produced by the abuse of it: he endeavoured to follow the same maxims of government as were pursued by his royal predecessor; he observed,

though

though his father had, in 1734, sent 6,000 men for the Imperial service, in the war that hap- CHAP. I.
pened on account of the succession to the crown of Poland, that he had cautiously extricated 1746.

himself from assisting either the house of Austria, or the house of Bourbon, in the present war; notwithstanding he had kept his fleet, and army, in a proper condition to render him respectable among his neighbours: the young prince found that the subsidy treaties, made by his father with foreign powers, had brought in large sums of money, without exposing him to the necessity of espousing any part in the quarrels, either in the north of Germany; he found that the domestic and foreign concerns of Denmark were in as prosperous a condition as those of any state in Europe, and as far removed from any apprehensions of change; this he perceived was owing to the pacific disposition of his predecessor, whose steps he was determined to follow, as it was both suitable to his own dignity, and the true interest of his subjects.

THOUGH the pacific project, concerted by Baron Boetselaer with the British ministry, in the year 1744, was unsuccessfully negociated by Count Wassenaer, with the French ministry; yet as the States General had received a public memorial, in the year 1745, from the French monarch, inviting them to hold a general congress, they were importunate for a second trial; and, having drawn some farther explanations on that subject, they dispatched both M. Gilles and M. Twickel to make a suitable impression on the French ministry; but by reason of the hard and unacceptable conditions, which his majesty was for prescribing to their High Mightinesses, this method was unsuccessful. However it gave rise
to

PART

IX.

1746.

Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant, where the Earl of Sandwich the British plenipotentiary, and the Marquis de Puisieux the plenipotentiary of France, met Count Wassenauer the Dutch minister, on the 18th of September; each of them being commissioned to enter into a treaty for preventing the calamities of so ruinous a war; for which purpose M. Gilles, lately chosen pensionary of Holland, was also sent to reinforce the negociation of Count Wassenauer; and the Count de Harrach arrived there in quality of plenipotentiary from the court of Vienna. The first proposal was a cessation of hostilities; but the French Minister would consent to no armistice, without the allies would accept of such conditions as should be dictated by the cabinet of Versailles: he had instructions to admit of no mention, in the preliminaries, of the pretender, or his descendants, nor in any general or particular treaty between France and Great Britain; because his Most Christian majesty would be entirely free, and unconstrained, in respect to the house of Steuart: the Marquis de Puisieux also told the Earl of Sandwich, at a private interview about admitting the Austrian minister to the public conferences, "That the title of Imperial majesty greatly offended the French monarch, who was firmly resolved never to acknowledge the new titles of the court of Vienna, unless he should be indemnified of the extraordinary expences from the continuation of the war, which the obstinacy of the Queen of Hungary had occasioned; and unless that princess should give satisfaction to the allies of France, in regard to their several pretensions." Such arrogance

to

to the first conferences in the year 1746, at CHAP.
was more suitable to an absolute conqueror, than I.
a negociator: and it soon appeared that the
French monarch had no pacific intention; for, 1746.
at that very time, and even before the conferences were begun, endeavours had been used, on his part, at the court of Portugal, without the privity either of his Britannic majesty, or of the States General, towards the opening of another congress under the mediation of his Portuguese majesty; with this pretext, that their High Mightinesses were not neutral, but ought to be considered as a belligerent power: and when a difference arose, about admitting, to the conferences, the minister of the court of Turin, as well as that of Vienna, whose interests were chiefly to be discussed there, both their admissions were contested on the part of the French monarch; although his own ally, the King of Spain, afterwards found it so reasonable, that he most earnestly insisted upon it, as well for those courts, as for himself; and soon after that this difficulty was removed, the French minister abruptly broke off the conferences, leaving the negotiation suspended for the more prevalent reason of the sword.

THE conclusion of the last campaign sufficiently evinced, that nothing less than a potent revival of the ancient confederacy between the British nation, the house of Austria, and the Dutch, could oppose the almost irresistible force of France; to which the courts of London and Vienna were inducing the Dutch, who were now obliged to consult their own security in that of their allies. During the recess of parliament, his Britannic majesty had been particularly attentive

tentive to extinguish any remains of the late rebellion, and to re-establish and secure the domestic tranquility of the nation : in the mean time, the state of the war abroad had received a considerable alteration : though France had made a farther progress in the Netherlands, yet the United Provinces were hitherto preserved from that danger, which threatened them at the opening of the campaign ; but the continuance of this preservation required the immediate exertion of all the confederate forces, and a considerable army remained there for their defence : the arms of the Empress Queen of Hungary, and the King of Sardinia, were signally successful in Italy ; the acquisitions made there by the Spaniards, and their allies, were all, excepting Savoy, recovered from them ; and the Bourbonite forces, broken and almost ruined, had not only been obliged to evacuate that country, but were even vigorously pursued into the southern territories of France. Such was the situation of affairs on the 18th of November, when his Britannic majesty went to the house of peers, and opened the sixth session of parliament, with a speech from the throne, wherein he represented, “THAT he
 “ had often assured his parliament, that his sole
 “ aim, in carrying on this just and necessary
 “ war, was a safe and honourable peace : in
 “ this view he had shewn a sincere disposition
 “ towards a general pacification ; by consenting
 “ to the holding of conferences at Breda, to try
 “ whether his enemies would, in the event,
 “ agree to such terms and conditions, as might
 “ be consistent with the honour of his crown,
 “ the security and true interests of his kingdom,
 “ and his engagements to his allies,
 “ whom

“ whom it was his firm resolution not to abandon. But, while they were treating of peace, reason and good policy demanded that they should be prepared for war: he was, therefore, actually concerting, with his allies, the proper measures for vigorously pursuing the war in another campaign, in case the obstinacy of his enemies should render it necessary: his desire being to adjust their measures as speedily as possible, that their preparations might be early; that the confederate army in the Netherlands might be augmented in time; and the operations on the side of Italy carried on with effect: that it should also be his particular care to exert his strength at sea, in the most effectual manner, for the defence of his kingdoms and possessions, the protection of the trade of his subjects, and the annoyance of his enemies. His majesty also represented, that, by reason of the unavoidable accidents and consequences of war, the funds appropriated for the support of his civil government, had, for some years past, fallen greatly short of the revenue intended, and granted by parliament; and he relied on their known affection to him, to find out some method to make good this deficiency.” The addresses passed without any opposition; the parliamentary contentions were inconsiderable; and those who had formerly signalized themselves in opposing the ministry, were now introduced into the cabinet: the Earl of Harrington resigned the seals, and was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the Earl of Chesterfield, who succeeded the former as one of the principal secretaries of state; Mr Trevor was recalled, and the Earl of

CHAP.

I.

1746.

PART Sandwich was appointed plenipotentiary to the
 IX. States General; Sir Charles Hanbury Williams
 was appointed minister at the court of Berlin;
 1747. and the Earl of Lincoln was made cofferer of
 the household.

THE national debt, on the 31st of December, amounted to 59,356,497*l.* 16*s.* of which 5,467,894*l.* 10*s.* was owing to the exchequer annuitants; 4,200,000*l.* to the East India company; 27,302,203*l.* 6*s.* to the South Sea company; and 22,386,400*l.* to the Bank of England: the parliament proceeded with such unanimity, that they shewed an extraordinary instance of national generosity, in granting his majesty 9,425,254*l.* for the services of the year 1747; for which four millions were to be raised by transferable annuities at four per cent. with a premium of ten per cent. and an additional tax was laid upon the window-lights, to serve as a fund for these annuities; a new tax was created on coaches, and other carriages, for gentility and pleasure, which was charged with 1,000,000*l.* to be raised by way of lottery; a million was granted from the sinking fund; 500,000*l.* was to be raised by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged on the supplies of the next session; and a new tax was laid upon the retailers of spirituous liquors. These great supplies were to be appropriated towards the continuance of 40,000 seamen in the royal navy; 856,066*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* was to be applied for the maintenance of 33,030 men, in Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey; 372,788*l.* 11*s.* for 15,196 troops in Flanders; 206,253*l.* 15*s.* for 11,550 marines; 343,112*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* for garrisons in the Plantations, Minorca, and Gibraltar, and for provisions for the garrisons at No-

va Scotia, Newfoundland, Georgia, Rattan, and Cape Breton ; 456,733 *l.* 16 *s.* 3 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$ to make good the deficiency of the duties applicable to the civil list, during the last seven years ; 284,004 *l.* 12 *s.* 11 *d.* for the charge of the office of ordnance for land-service, and 193,208 *l.* 15 *s.* 3 *d.* for extraordinary expences ; 196,259 *l.* 8 *s.* 8 *d.* for the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to sea officers ; 135,378 *l.* 4 *s.* 7 *d.* for deficiency of the grants in 1746 ; 1,000,000 *l.* towards paying off the Navy debt, which was then 5,233,746 *l.* 433,333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* to enable the Queen of Hungary to maintain 60,000 men in the Low Countries ; 300,000 *l.* to the King of Sardinia ; 400,000 *l.* for 18,000 Hanoverians, and 10,000 *l.* for their Artillery ; 24,299 *l.* 1 *s.* 4 *d.* to the Elector of Cologne ; 8,620 *l.* to the Elector of Mentz ; 26,846 *l.* 11 *s.* 9 *d.* to the Elector of Bavaria ; 161,607 *l.* 17 *s.* 1 *d.* for 6,000 Hessians ; 500,000 *l.* to enable his majesty to carry on the war ; and 22,267 *l.* to several officers and private men of two troops of horse guards, and five regiments of horse, lately reduced ; which, with other less considerable articles, took up the whole appropriation of the supplies.

WHILE such an additional operation was imposed upon the British subjects, they had the mortification to be informed, that the yearly expences of the present war, had constantly exceeded those in the reign of Queen Anne, though the number of troops brought into the field were less ; and, to this, was added, that the naval expence of Great Britain had been, in the two last years, 4,912,000 *l.* more than that of France, though to little signification. His majesty was too sensible of the national burthen

PART to disregard it, and he took the resolution of di-

IX. minishing the external appearance of his own
 dignity, so he might convey the least augmen-

1747. tation to the felicity and ease of his subjects: the new regiments, raised during the late rebellion, were disbanded on the suppression of it; and, as a further instance of œconomy, his majesty gave directions for disbanding the third and fourth troops of life guards, and reducing three regiments of horse to dragoons; which, by diminishing about 12,000 *l.* in the charge of a regiment, would create an annual saving of about 70,000 *l.* and furnish a more numerous body of troops; so that his majesty left only two of his household troops, and one regiment of horse, upon the establishment. This was so salutary a step, that the house of commons, on the 8th of December, presented an address to his majesty, "Returning their grateful thanks, for the generous and fresh instance he had given of his attention to the ease and welfare of his people, by lessening the expence of the army, in a manner so essential to the public:" however the project was misrepresented in France, where it was reported, that his Britannic majesty was so much impoverished as to be obliged to disband his household troops; which occasioned an extraordinary rejoicing at Paris, on account of the difficulties which it was apprehended the British ministry would find in providing the supplies, for the next campaign; but a great damp succeeded, on hearing that, instead of four, which the administration required, six millions had been subscribed in the space of two hours.

SINCE the rejection of a pacification at Breda, the martial spirit had avowedly taken possession of the British cabinet: the Earl of Sandwich repaired

paired to the the Hague, to settle the contin-
gencies of the war, in the most effectual man-
ner; and he had the happiness to induce
the Dutch to act upon the same plan, as
was pursued in the former confederacy against
Lewis XIV. Accordingly a convention was en-
tered into, by which Great Britain was to
furnish 40,000 men, the States-General 40,000,
and the Empress-Queen 60,000, in all 140,000:
these were to be exclusive of garrisons; and her
Imperial Majesty also obliged herself to keep no
less than 10,000 men in Luxemburg; to effect a
junction of 60,000 Austrians and 30,000 Pied-
montese, to make a diversion in Provence; and
to post 15,000 men near the Panaro, by way of
check on the King of the two Sicilies, who, tho'
he had re-embraced his neutrality, still kept a con-
siderable body of troops in pay. The Dutch
were now prompted to act with resolution; and,
on the 30th of November, the Duke of Cumber-
land set out for Holland, to concert, with Mar-
shal Bathiani, the plan of operations for the next
campaign, in which he was to act as commander
in chief of the confederate forces; when it was
agreed to take the field before the end of
March.

As the war was to be more vigorously pro-
secuted under the command of the Duke of
Cumberland, several military promotions were
made in the British forces. Sir John Ligonier
was made general of the horse; James Lord
Tyrawley was appointed colonel of the regiment
of foot lately commanded by Lieutenant-General
Columbine; the Earl of Crawford was appointed
colonel of the regiment lately under the com-
mand of Brigadier-General Hugh Lord Sempill,
deceased; Robert Dalzel, Esq; Gervas Parker,

PART IX. Esq; and the Earl of Harrington, were made

IX. generals of foot; the Right Honourable Algen-
 noon Lord Percy, commonly called Earl of
 1747. Hertford, Sir Robert Rich, Bart. John Duke
 of Montague, and Richard Lord Viscount Molef-
 worth, were appointed generals of horse; and
 the Honourable Colonel Walgrave, and Lord
 How, were appointed Aid de Camps to the
 Duke of Cumberland. Scotland was settled in
 tranquility, and several regiments were ordered
 from the Highlands to Flanders, as also were
 two battalions of the foot guards: and the Duke
 of Cumberland was to have under him Sir John
 Ligonier, general of horse; Lieutenant-General
 Hawley, and the Earl of Albemarle; the Major-
 Generals Fuller, Huske, Howard, Bland, and
 the Earl of Crawford; with the Brigadiers
 Bligh, Price, Mordaunt, Houghton, and Doug-
 lass.

THE Dutch were now so sensible of their dan-
 ger, that the generality of the people were for
 electing a Stadtholder, to extricate the state
 from the difficulties in which their indolence
 had involved them: but this was too important
 a step to be taken without the concurrence of
 his Britannic majesty, in the measures to be
 adopted by the republic; and the Dutch had no
 good opinion of the present parliament of Bri-
 tain, which had worn so many various com-
 plexions, which had concurred in such various
 measures and oppositions, and which they want-
 ed to have dissolved before they abolished the
 present form of government in the United Pro-
 vinces. When this was communicated to his
 Britannic majesty, it was thought expedient to
 neglect nothing that could induce the Dutch
 to a proceeding so evidently beneficial to the
 com-

common cause; and his majesty came to the resolution of dissolving the parliament, which was one of the inherent prerogatives of his crown, and no ways contradictory to the fundamental constitution of the nation. His majesty, therefore, on the 17th of June 1747, went to the house of peers, and made a speech to his parliament, importing, “THAT the care, and
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1747.

“attention, they had shewn, to extinguish any remains of the late rebellion, and to strengthen the foundations of their future tranquility by new provisions, as well for restoring the proper authority of the government in North Britain, as for better securing the liberties of the people, could not fail to have the most beneficial consequences. THAT the great efforts his parliament had made, for carrying on the war in a vigorous manner, had shewn them not less attentive to their foreign, than to their domestic interests: they had given spirit to his allies; and enabled him, in conjunction with them, to bring a numerous and powerful army into the field; and to maintain strong squadrons at sea, for the protection and defence of their trade and possessions, the annoyance of their enemies, and for supporting and enforcing the operations of his allies in Italy. THAT he acknowledged, in a particular manner, the zeal and application with which the gentlemen of the house of commons had raised the necessary supplies, for the service of the current year; and their readiness in making good the deficiency of the civil list funds, was a fresh instance of that regard and affection, which he had always experienced from them: and that to be able to effectuate all this immediately, after the suppressing of

PART “ an unnatural and expensive rebellion, and

IX. “ under the burthens of war, must set the

“ strength and credit of the nation in the high-

1747. “ est light; and secure to the crown of Great

“ Britain that weight and respect, both with its

“ friends and enemies, which justly belonged to

“ it. THAT as this parliament would necessa-

“ rily determine in a short time, and as nothing

“ would give so much weight and credit to

“ their affairs abroad, in the present conjuncture,

“ as to shew the dependance he had upon the

“ affections of his people; he had judged it ex-

“ pedient speedily to call a new parliament:

“ but he should think himself inexcusable,

“ if he parted with this, without publicly re-

“ turning them his thanks, for the most emi-

“ nent instances they had given him, of their

“ inviolable fidelity and attachment to his per-

“ son and government, and their unshaken ad-

“ herence to the true interest of their country,

“ and the protestant succession in his family:

“ by the divine blessing, and their vigorous as-

“ sistance, he had been enabled to crush and

“ defeat the most audacious attempt that ever

“ had been made to overturn the present esta-

“ blishment; and, at the same time, to furnish

“ that support to their ancient and natural al-

“ lies, which had already disappointed some of

“ the most dangerous views of ambition, with

“ which their enemies began the war: such ex-

“ traordinary merit, as it would be always grate-

“ fully remembered by him, must endear the

“ memory of this parliament to posterity: from

“ such demonstrations of the loyalty and affec-

“ tion of his faithful subjects, he did, with the

“ utmost satisfaction, repose himself upon them;

“ and did not, in the least, doubt of receiving

“ new

“ new proofs of the same good disposition, in CHAP.
“ the choice of their representatives.” After I.
which, his majesty concluded thus : “ I HAVE
“ nothing so much at heart as the preservation 1747.
“ of the civil and religious rights of my people,
“ and the maintenance of the true greatness and
“ prosperity of this nation : from these princi-
“ ples I will never deviate, and in these princi-
“ ples every true Briton will concur : let this
“ appear by your conduct, in the present con-
“ juncture ; and let no false arts, or misrepre-
“ sentations, take place to interrupt, or weaken,
“ that confidence and harmony between me and
“ my people, which have been, and ever will
“ be, productive of such happy effects : ” his
majesty then gave the royal assent to several acts,
and the parliament was prorogued to the 9th of
July. On the 18th of June, the royal procla-
mation was published for dissolving the present
parliament, whereby the lords spiritual and tem-
poral, and the knights, citizens, and burgessees,
and the commissioners for shires and burghs of
the house of commons, were discharged from their
meeting and attendance on the 9th of July fol-
lowing ; declaring, that his majesty, with the
advice of his privy-council, had given orders to
his chancellor of Great-Britain, to issue out writs
for calling a new parliament ; which writs were
to bear teste the 22d of that instant June, and
to be returnable on the 13th of August follow-
ing : his majesty also ordered the convocation of
the clergy to be dissolved, and new writs to be
issued, for electing another, to bear date on the
26th of June, and be returned on the 19th of
August : but the new parliament did not assem-
ble till the 12th of November.

PART

IX.

1747.

THE French had been long endeavouring to seduce the Dutch to abandon their allies; but though the states were restrained from declaring war, or acting with the necessary vigour, they did not absolutely renounce their ancient alliance: this gave such offence to the French monarch, that their High Mightinesses had the mortification to see the Austrian Netherlands, which, according to treaties were to serve for their barrier, and the fortresses of their countries which were allotted them for that purpose, and garrisoned with their own troops, hostilely attacked by the army of his Most Christian Majesty; notwithstanding that this very barrier was comprehended in the rights, and possessions, which he had guaranteed to them, by a solemn treaty, in 1717: inasmuch, that, from thenceforth, open violence took place of all the other ways and methods, which had, till then, been made use of towards the republic. Their High Mightinesses did not fail to make the most serious remonstrances against this unexpected treatment; and to declare, that they considered the Austrian Netherlands, as a part of their own frontier, as they in reality were, and that thus, by attacking them, the republic herself was attacked in her barrier: moreover, they sent expressly an extraordinary deputation to the French monarch, as well with a view to dissuade him from that enterprize, as to promote the salutary work of peace, before matters should come to greater extremities; and to beg that his majesty would make, to them, some confidential overtures of the conditions which he might think proper towards attaining it: but, notwithstanding all the foregoing protestations of the peaceable inclination of France, the endeavours of the States-

States-General were fruitless ; and they, on the CHAP. contrary, were soon reduced to see, not only I. the whole Austrian Netherlands, and consequently the bulwark of the republic, subdued by 1747. the superiority of France, but also many of the principal and best fortresses and strong holds of that country, which were set apart for the security of their High Mightinesses barrier, and in which they had the right of garrison, razed and dismantled ; whereby they were absolutely and irreparably stript, and deprived, of a barrier, which cost so much blood and treasure in the preceding war, and was guarantied, and secured to them, by the most solemn treaties ; and all this without having the least regard to the numberless and pressing representations, instances, and complaints, made, from time to time, by their High Mightinesses, upon that subject : a manifest proof of the true designs of France against the republic ! His Most Christian Majesty did not stop here ; but undertook to support and foment a rebellion in the kingdom of Great Britain ; which, had it been attended with success, would have brought about a total subversion of the religious and civil establishment in that kingdom, and thus have thrown the liberty and religion of the republic into the most imminent danger : and when their High Mightinesses sent thither a succour of their troops, conformably to treaty, the French monarch resented it to such a degree, that, under the pretence of these troops having been sent contrary to the tenor of the capitulations by which they were bound, he took occasion, from thence, to repeal, and consequently to break, the treaty of commerce concluded between his majesty and the republic in the year 1739 ; and likewise to refuse

PART refuse to exchange, or ransom, the Dutch
IX. troops, that were prisoners of war, notwithstanding
that the same was regulated by a formal
1747. cartel.

AFTER this, and all the instances of friendship from the British nation, who could imagine that the states should suffer memorial after memorial from the British ministers, without paying any regard to them? though the conformity there was, as well in religious as civil liberties, between the constitutions of the two states, rendered, at all times, the strictest union of affections and forces natural to them; though mutual interests rendered the same mutually beneficial; though solemn and reiterated treaties had long since rendered it sacred; and though common wrongs now rendered it more than ever necessary. Who could imagine that the Dutch would refrain from joining that power which was always ready to grant them assistance, for fear they should disoblige another power that omitted no opportunity to oppress them? or who could believe, while the French were bursting the barrier of the United Provinces, that their High Mightinesses continued M. Van Hoey as their minister at the court of Versailles, who was himself actuated by French politics, who was a more than ordinary favourite with the ministry of France, and who had done so many acts repugnant to the duty of his office? It was evident, from the invasion of Provence, that France was not invulnerable, in every part; and, if the Dutch vigorously exerted themselves, in the ensuing campaign, there was a prospect of satisfying France that she was not invincible, nor her propositions always unintelligible: for if the states dealt roundly with France, she would deal

deal plainly with them ; the Dutch generals CHAP.
would prove the best plenipotentiaries, and the I.
drums and trumpets in the army be the first mu-
sic that proclaimed peace. The eyes of Europe 1747.

were upon the Dutch : while a powerful enemy was at their gates, the world was surprized at their inactivity ; their allies were at a stand, till the republic exerted herself ; and the subjects of the states were eager to see the credit of their country revived, and their troops at liberty : this opened the eyes of the states, shewed them their danger, and roused them to activity ; they found the last moment was arrived, for them, to form a resolution worthy of their ancestors, their present circumstances, the confidence reposed in them by their people and allies, their own fame, and the approbation of posterity.

At last, when imminent danger made it necessary to provide for immediate security, the agents of France grew contemptible, and corruption fled before the dawn of liberty. This golden opportunity was taken by the patriotical friends of the republic, to revive the drooping honour of their country : M. Van Haaren still eminently distinguished himself, he stood the foremost of those who consulted the real felicity of the commonwealth, and, in an assembly of the states, he exhorted them to act consistently with their character, their interest, and their danger, by an elegant speech, wherein he represented, " THAT, at the same time they saw
" how desperate their disease was grown, by their
" not apprehending, or not attending to, their
" danger, they saw the only remedy ; saw it
" within their reach ; and, as far as human
" wisdom could discern, saw it might be yet
" effectual. He told them, when France began
" the

“ the present war, she was indeed terrible : she
 “ broke into Germany with numerous armies ;
 “ and she had charmed the Imperial princes, in
 “ assisting her towards their own destruction :
 “ but all this drained her both of blood and
 “ treasure ; and she was so sensible of her loss,
 “ as gladly to repass the Rhine : in Italy her lot
 “ had been the very same ; fatal battles, and
 “ fruitless sieges, had brought her forces low in
 “ reputation, as well as numbers : in the Low
 “ Countries, Fontenoy was a victory that cost
 “ more than it was worth ; Liege, too, cost
 “ very dear, and was worth nothing : there-
 “ fore, if they would suffer themselves coolly to
 “ consider the thing, they would plainly see,
 “ that though it was a giant they were going to
 “ engage, yet it was a giant that had run his
 “ race ; run himself out of wind, and had much
 “ ado to stand upon his legs. THAT he was
 “ not an inveterate enemy of France, a creature
 “ of the court of Vienna, or an instrument of that
 “ of London, but a downright Dutchman,
 “ concerned for the safety, and zealous for the
 “ freedom, welfare, and glory of his country :
 “ that the states had shewn, sufficiently, how
 “ much they were afraid of becoming a pro-
 “ vince of France ; and, therefore, the people
 “ had a right to expect they should be ready
 “ to do whatever appeared necessary to prevent
 “ it ; and he hoped they would no longer hesi-
 “ tate about what must be done, to prevent
 “ their being undone. He then advised them
 “ to mind but one thing at once ; to lay aside
 “ negotiating, which, they found, did nothing ;
 “ and prepare for the sole thing that would do,
 “ a vigorous, and, which was of no less conse-
 “ quence, an early campaign : instead of equip-
 “ ping

“ ping new plenipotentiaries for Versailles, let
“ them repair to the courts of the empire ; there
“ they would find the Germanic powers willing
“ enough to spare them troops ; and, in the
“ mean time, the States might recruit and aug-
“ ment their own : if their generals asked forty,
“ he advised them to give 50,000 men ; they
“ would save money, and spare bloodshed, by
“ saving a campaign ; and, besides, their ex-
“ ample would be a law to their allies. Was
“ the money wanting ? raising troops would
“ raise that ; let a subscription be made on the
“ back of their declaration of war, and in three
“ days it would be full. Had they any doubts
“ about their allies ? this was the surest way to
“ remove them : if the States took this step,
“ their allies would take any step they pleased.
“ Were they apprehensive of French resent-
“ ment ? this would set them at ease : if they
“ were but once just to themselves, France
“ would resume her respect : if the States
“ armed, France would very soon treat.” This
animating speech prevailed upon the States to
arm with resolution ; it facilitated the conven-
tion for furnishing the respective quotas for the
campaign ; it gave the Duke of Cumberland an
opportunity of gaining the concurrence of the
States to take the field before the French ;
these measures thoroughly convinced the whole
community of their danger ; and, all together,
were productive of that sudden and salutary al-
teration in the government, which promoted
the Prince of Orange to the dignity of stad-
holder, which made that important office here-
ditary in his family, and wrested the power of
the State out of the hands of corruption.

PART

IX.

1747.

THE artifices of France were no longer prevalent in Germany, and her influence in the Imperial diet was declining, notwithstanding the insinuations of her numerous agents to support it; for several members refused to receive Monsieur de la Noue as a French minister, because his master would not acknowledge the head of the Empire: which occasioned the rejection of a memorial, delivered to the Elector of Mentz, to be registered in the public dictature; wherein the court of Versailles exerted many artful subterfuges, in vindication of their conduct, with a view to pacify the Imperial Princes and States, while France was penetrating into the United Provinces, in conformity to the plan which she intended to follow in the ensuing campaign: however, the circles, and the princes of the Empire, continued to observe a neutrality; and his Prussian majesty declared he would remain inactive while the Empire was in security. A cessation of hostilities with Persia, set the Ottoman Porte at liberty to draw 30,000 men from the western side of the Euphrates, which were ordered to assemble in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, the capital of the province of Romania, 300 miles south east of Belgrade, and 640 south east of Vienna: this, and the large number of troops in Wallachia and Moldavia, with the motion of the Crim Tartars on the frontiers of the Ukraine, gave some jealousies, to the courts of Vienna and Petersburg, that the Ottoman Divan had been influenced, by the French, to penetrate into the christian territories of Europe: but they were soon delivered from these apprehensions, by intelligence from Mr Porter, the British resident at Constantinople, that these motions were only to quell
a sedi-

a sedition among some of the tumultuous Jani-
zaries ; and this was soon after effectually cor-
roborated by the conduct of the Ottoman mi-
nistry, who concluded a treaty with the court of
Vienna, for renewing and perpetuating the trea-
ty of Belgrade ; they also renewed the treaties
with Russia : so that the peaceful olive was still
flourishing on the borders of the three empires.
The Czarina was also so well affected to the court
of Vienna, that she was willing to send 30,000
men to the assistance of the allies, for transferring
to them the superiority in the Netherlands ;
which was a measure formerly recommended by
the Earl of Grenville, and, though then reject-
ed by a prevalent party in the British cabinet,
was now thought expedient to be adopted : but,
as the Czarina required a considerable subsidy,
the States General were called upon to take their
share both of the engagement and expence ;
and such dilatory measures were used, that this
provision was not stipulated till the summer ; by
which the good dispositions of the Czarina were
rendered ineffectual for the approaching cam-
paign : although it was universally known, that
the Elector of Saxony had contracted such a tie
of consanguinity with France, as to leave no
manner of room for expecting the least assist-
ance from him, in pursuance of the treaty of
Warlaw. Notwithstanding these defections, the
Empress Queen of Hungary was determined to
act with all imaginable vigour, agreeable to her
own situation, and consistent with the interest of
her allies ; she took care to regulate the disposi-
tions for the reduction of Genoa, in concert with
his Sardinian Majesty ; and, on taking an ac-
count of all the Hungarians capable of bearing
arms, that might be spared from tillage, trade,

CHAP.

I.

1747.

PART and manufactures, she found 180,000 under
IX. forty, and above 200,000 under fifty : but

her treasure was so impoverished, as to make it
1747. impossible for her to recruit her army, early
enough to make a seasonable appearance in the
field, without a considerable part of the subsidy,
granted by the British parliament, was paid in
December : the reason of this was manifest, be-
cause she was under a necessity of recruiting in
the Imperial towns, the hereditary countries be-
ing too remote from the scene of action ; in the
winter these towns swarmed with handicrafts-
men, and labourers, who were glad to follow
the drum, for want of employment ; and un-
less they were enlisted then, it was impossible
they should be armed, cloathed, and disciplined,
so as to be fit for service in March, at which
time she was under an obligation to have them
in the field : these reasons had been always in
force, but now they were abundantly more forcible
than ever : the losses of the last year had
fallen so heavy on her majesty, that they were
scarce supportable ; it was out of her power to
supply those losses, except by the British sub-
sidies, and therefore she was uncommonly urgent
to carry that point : but in this she could not
succeed to her wishes ; for the British ministry
with-held the greatest part of those sums which
were intended for levy money till April, and
also took care to detain 100,000 *l.* to answer such
deficiencies as should be found in her musters ;
which prevented her from acting with a spirit
agreeable to her inclinations : however, she was so
sensible of the necessity of making an extraor-
dinary effort, in the next campaign, that she
exerted herself in a manner as extraordinary ;

and

and not only brought her contingent more early into the field, but more complete than could have been expected.

CHAP.
I.

1747.

THE French monarch was greatly irritated at the invasion of Britany, and seemed to resent the execution of the rebellious chiefs in England: as a proof of this, he ordered all of that nation then resident in France, unprovided with passports, to be taken into custody; among whom was the Earl of Morton, and his retinue, who were sent to the Bastile, but were speedily released, by the interposition of the Dutch ambassador: besides this, the French monarch invited the young pretender to Fontainbleau, when the latter related his adventures in Scotland, and his majesty not only encouraged him with hopes of assisting him in another attempt, but ordered him a present of 800,000 livres, to reimburse the loss of his equipage, together with an annual pension of 600,000 livres, and an apartment in the palace of St Germain en Laye; where his adherents were to form the appearance of a court; and from whence several of them were promoted to honourable employments in the armies of France. The ministry of Versailles extended their interest at the courts of Stockholm and Dresden: the subsidy treaty with the former being expired, they got it renewed, by which France was to pay Sweden 3,700,000 livres within the compass of three years, on the same conditions as the treaty concluded with the court of Copenhagen: the French also promoted a defensive treaty between the courts of Stockholm and Berlin; and they secured the interest of his Polish majesty, by demanding his second daughter, the Princess Anna Maria, in marriage for the Dauphin; which was an alliance the more

PART astonishing, as so much pains were taken, by the

IX. French monarch, for excluding his Polish majesty from the throne of his father, and as the mother of the Dauphin was daughter to King Stanislaus, a professed enemy to the father of the intended Dauphiness, to whom the Duke de Richlieu was sent, with a numerous retinue, to conduct her to Paris. The French ministry also took care to encourage the resolution of the revolted Genoese; while they were taking the most provident measures for bringing a formidable army into the Netherlands, and collecting another on the side of Provence.

1747.

FRANCE, notwithstanding all her acquisitions in the Netherlands, found herself in a declining situation: like a man of a nimble and vigorous constitution, she was drooping beneath a constant load of fatigues, and so debilitated that she had only one violent push to make for obtaining the end of her journey. She was sensible that the Allies had the strongest probability of succeeding against her in the ensuing campaign, because her national forces had not only suffered a great diminution, but she found herself entirely deserted by some of her most formidable confederates; by the defection of Prussia she lost 100,000 men, by the late Emperor 30,000, by the Elector Palatine 6,000, by the Prince of Hesse 6,000, and by his Sicilian majesty 20,000; so that she was reduced, only with the assistance of Spain and Genoa, to make head against the forces of the English, Dutch, Austrians, and Piedmontese; which, in a short time, must inevitably overpower all the opposition of France, who was but very faintly assisted by Spain. France also found the calamity attendant on the deprivation of her commerce: though

though she had been lately successful in convoy-
ing her American trade with safety ; yet, as the
British fleets were so numerous, she dreaded their
strength ; because her East India trade was totally
lost, the Turkey trade almost suspended, the
fishery, fur, and Bourdeaux trade were gene-
rally intercepted, and she grew fearful for the
commerce to the West Indies and the Mississippi:
however, the Count de Maurepas, secretary of
the Marine, was busy in augmenting the fleet,
and equipping some formidable squadrons to con-
duct their trading ships to the East Indies, and
America. In a grand council, at Fontainebleau,
it was proposed to raise the fifth, instead of the
tenth penny, all over the kingdom ; his majesty
proposed to open the campaign in the Nether-
lands at the head of 150,000 men, and 60,000
men were ordered to take the field in Provence:
but these armies were greatly deficient, not-
withstanding the French were obliged to draw
all the troops they could spare from the Rhine,
and the three bishoprics ; and, in a manner, to
drain their garrisons, which they ventured to
do, on a presumption, that their army would be
able to cover them.

MARSHAL SAXE was appointed to act under
his majesty in the Netherlands, with the title of
Marshal de Camp General, which empowered
him to command not only the Marshals of
France, but princes of the blood : an honour
in which this eminent general placed his greatest
glory ; and, when the king drank to him by
that title, he told his majesty, " That his only
wish was to deserve it as well as Marshal Tu-
renne did, and to die in the same manner,
covered with honour in the field : " and, not
content with conferring this dignity on his fa-

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PART IX. *yourite general, his majesty caused his portrait to be placed in the Louvre, with the following inscription under it ;*

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Rome eut en Fabius un guerrier politique,
Dans Hannibal Cartage eut un chef heroique :
La France plus heureuse, a dans ce fier Saxon
La tete du premier et le bras du second.

Or,

In Fabius, Rome a warrior statesman found ;
And Hannibal with glory Carthage crown'd :
France in her Saxon sees, with proud delight,
The Roman head and punic arm unite.



CHAP.



CHAPTER II.

The opening of the campaign in the NETHERLANDS. The project of Marshal SAXE for invading DUTCH BRABANT; with the reduction of SLUYS, SAS VAN GHENT, HULST, AXEL, TERNEUSE, and other places, by Count LOWENDAHL. The conduct of the DUTCH upon this occasion; the form of government in the UNITED PROVINCES; the rise, and continuance, of the office of STADTHOLDER in the house of NASSAU; and the election of WILLIAM CHARLES HENRY FRIZO to that dignity.

FRANCE was now in possession of all the Austrian Netherlands, from Dinant to Antwerp; it was evident that she intended to penetrate into the territories of the United Pro-
vinces;

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PART vinces ; and this made the confederates desirous
IX. of opening the campaign before the French.

1747. The Duke of Cumberland arrived at the Hague, on the 5th of February, where every thing was concerted for immediately taking the field : during the severity of this month, the troops were put in motion, being drawn out of their cantonments, in the Duchies of Limberg, and Luxemburg, and the country along the Lower Maese, to assemble in Dutch Brabant ; where, towards the latter end of March, they took the field in three several bodies ; the Duke of Cumberland having fixed his head quarters at the village of Tilberg, eleven miles S. E. of Breda, with 8,000 English, 18,000 Hanoverians, and 6,000 Hessians ; the Dutch were assembled at Breda, under the Prince of Waldeck ; and the Austrians, with 4,000 Bavarians, were collecting in the neighbourhood of Venlo, on the eastern side of the Maese, under the command of Marshal Bathiani : but though the whole army should have consisted of 140,000 men, they did not make upwards of 126,000 ; and, notwithstanding this early appearance in the field, the confederates rested upon their arms, for six weeks together, without making any attempt of any kind ; while Marshal Saxe continued his forces in their cantonments, in the country between Bruges, Antwerp, and Brussels ; for he knew that the confederates were ill provided with magazines ; and, upon this occasion, was heard to say, “ That when the Duke of Cumberland had sufficiently weakened his army, he would convince him, that the first duty of a general was to provide for its preservation.”

WHITE

WHILE the confederates were in this state of inaction, the French were consulting how to continue the rapidity of their conquests: Marshal Saxe was desirous of penetrating into Dutch Brabant, and carrying the arms of France into the very heart of the United Provinces; for this purpose he drew up a plan of operations, and sent it to the ministry at Versailles, where a council was held, on the 2d of March, to take it into consideration. Cardinal Tencin strongly supported it, saying, "That his majesty had shewn favour to these republicans too long, who, by having extraordinary regard paid them, imagined they were much more formidable, and of greater consequence, than they really were: that, if his counsel had been followed, war had been declared against them long ago; his advice was not to delay it any longer; and, at the same time, to enter their provinces, by way of Flanders, with a considerable force." His eminence was strongly opposed by M. St Florentine, and Count de Maurepas, who alledged, "That this advice was the most pernicious that could be given the king, because it would unquestionably cause several protestant powers to fly to the assistance of the republic, and that the kingdom had more necessity of the Dutch in respect of commerce, than the republic had of France." The opinion of the cardinal was, however, so agreeable to the inclinations of his majesty, that a courier was immediately sent to Marshal Saxe to act accordingly; who got a large train of heavy artillery provided at Ghent, ready for the enterprize.

DUTCH Flanders lies between the country lately subdued by the French, and the sea, extending

PART tending from west to east about thirty-five miles,
 IX. and from south to north fifteen miles in some
 places, in others less, and in some not above
 1747. three: the capital is Breda, besides which there
 are Bergen-op-Zoom, Boisseduc, Grave, Sluys,
 Hulst, Sas van Ghent, Lillo, and other consi-
 derable places, in the country: so that the con-
 quest of this small tract would cover Ghent,
 Bruges, and Antwerp, very effectually; give a
 roundness to the French acquisitions; and open
 them a communication between Antwerp and
 Ostend: by which the Dutch frontier would be
 lost, Flushing exposed, and Zealand at their
 mercy.

As the severity of the winter was abated, Marshal Saxe assembled his army behind the Demer, between Antwerp and Mechlin, his forces consisting of 126 battalions of regular troops, and twelve of militia, being computed at 96,600 men; 6,440 Grassins, and independent companies; and 253 squadrons, computed at 37,950 men; calculated, in all, at 140,990 men: besides this there was a separate army, under Count Clermont, composed of nineteen battalions and thirty-one squadrons, computed at 17,950 men; so that the whole of these forces was reported to be 158,940 men, if the respective corps had been complete; but, as there was a great deficiency, they did not exceed 136,000 men in all. Every thing being ready for putting the design against the Dutch territories into execution, Marshal Saxe entrusted it to the direction of Count Lowendahl, who, with twenty-three battalions and five squadrons, accompanied with as many more of each under the Marquis de Contades, left the cantonments, and marched to Ghent; from whence they set

out

out towards the Dutch territories, on the 16th of April, at the head of 27,000 men: while Marshal Saxe, with the remainder of his army, covered Antwerp, and attended the motions of the confederates.

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THE court of Versailles had prepared a declaration, ready to apologize for their invasion of the Dutch territories; which, on the 17th of April, was presented to the States, by the Abbe de la Ville, and imported, "THAT although the king had hitherto had most just cause to complain of the unbounded succours with which the United Provinces had assisted the Queen of Hungary, yet his majesty was not willing to consider the States General as his direct enemies. The regard which he had constantly had for them, and the propositions which, on different occasions, had been made to them by his ministers, were demonstrations of the sincere disposition his majesty had always had, not only to keep the theatre of war at a distance from the territory and neighbourhood of the United Provinces, but also to procure them the glory of contributing effectually to re-establish peace between the powers at war. THAT the same respect would have been still observed, did not reasons of war, and the security of the conquests which his majesty had made from the Queen of Hungary, absolutely require, on his part, the most speedy and effectual precautions to guard them from the designs of his enemies. If the republic had not afforded them an asylum, in its territory, and furnished them with succours of all kinds without limitation, the king would not have found himself under an indispensable necessity to interrupt the multitude of resources,

" for

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“ for perpetuating, notwithstanding all his efforts, a war which had already continued but too long. Compelled, therefore, only by these circumstances, and the conduct of the United Provinces, his majesty had permitted the general of his forces to take indifferently all the measures, which his military skill and experience should suggest, to prevent the confederate army from molesting the lawful possession of his conquests, and to secure the repose of his new subjects.

“ THAT the king had been justified if he had, at the beginning of the last campaign, entered with his whole army on the territory of the States Général, because they had afforded a retreat to the troops at enmity with France; but his majesty, believing the sincerity of the overtures made to him to re-establish peace, suspended the execution of an enterprize, which not only the laws of war, but the bad condition of the allied army would equally have warranted. The troops of Holland having, in 1744, entered on the territories of France, in the plains of Lisle and Cifoing, without the States General pretending, by this invasion, to make direct war on the king, his majesty declared, that in this step, to which he was compelled, of entering the territory of the republic, his design was not to come to a rupture with her; but only to stop, or prevent, the dangerous effects of the protection which she gave to the troops of the Queen of Hungary, and the King of England.

“ THAT it would not be reasonable to expect that the king should, to his own prejudice, shew a scrupulous forbearance in regard to the pretended

“ tended neutrality of powers acting as auxiliaries
“ to his enemies, while they themselves exer-
“ cised the greatest oppression against his ma-
“ jesty’s allies, even such as never once exceeded
“ the bounds of the strictest neutrality. Never-
“ theless the king, to demonstrate as much as
“ possible what he owed to himself, together
“ with those benevolent sentiments which he
“ still entertained for the States General, had
“ expressly enjoined the commandant of his ar-
“ my to take care that the French troops, en-
“ tering on the territories of the United Pro-
“ vinces, should observe the strictest discipline,
“ and regulate their operations only from ne-
“ cessity. His majesty, far from inclining to
“ give any disturbance to the religion, the go-
“ vernment, or to the commerce of the repub-
“ lic, was, on the contrary, disposed to grant
“ all protection to the subjects of the States
“ General, his majesty being persuaded that
“ their conduct would be answerable to his so
“ favourable intentions.

“ THAT his majesty declared, he would consi-
“ der the places and countries, he should be
“ obliged to take possession of for his own secu-
“ rity, no otherwise than a pledge, which he
“ promised to restore, as soon as the United
“ Provinces should give convincing proofs that
“ they would no longer furnish to the enemies
“ of his crown succours of any kind, which was
“ one of the principal causes of the continu-
“ ance of the war. The king desired only the
“ establishment of the public tranquility, up-
“ on just and solid foundations; and the
“ interest which his majesty took in the
“ safety and happiness of the States General
“ caused him to behold, with regret, that they
“ persisted in sacrificing to certain foreign con-
“ siderations,

“siderations, and unjust prejudices, their treaties, their troops, their possessions, their tranquillity, and perhaps the form of their government.”

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THEIR High Mightinesses did not think proper to return any answer to this declaration, because a piece, whose chief and only tendency was, to lay before them so unfriendly a denunciation, did not seem to want any other answer, but the actual exertion of those means which the laws of God, of nature, and of nations, prescribed; and because the French monarch thought fit to put the projected hostilities, with which he threatened the republic, actually in execution, the very day on which the declaration was delivered to their High Mightinesses, who saw themselves only warned with a word and a blow. Count Lowendahl was so alert that he entered the western extremity of Dutch Brabant, while their High Mightinesses were perusing the declaration presented by the French minister: this general immediately invested Sluys, a town, fortress, and port, formerly of great consequence, but now in a declining condition, being situated ten miles north east of Bruges, and twenty-four north west of Ghent, lying opposite to the island of Cadzant, from which it is separated by a little arm of the sea called the Swin; but, as the garrison consisted only of 800 men, they could not resist the fury of the French artillery; and, on the 19th of April, surrendered up the town, and themselves prisoners of war. Count Lowendahl, after leaving a garrison in Sluys, invested Sas van Ghent, situate on a canal twelve miles north of Ghent, where he expected to meet with a good resistance; because the town was a league in circumference,

ference, provided with regular fortifications, CHAP.
good magazines, a garrison of 2,000 men, and II.
every thing necessary for enabling a place of its
importance to make an obstinate defence; besides 1747.
there were several forts in the immediate vicinity
of the town, and calculated for its security: how-
ever the French artillery soon compelled the
garrison to surrender: while the Marquis de
Contades made himself master of the forts of
Perle and Liefkenshoek, with the town of Phi-
lippine.

THOUGH the confederate forces were so con-
tiguous to the places which the French were re-
ducing, that the commander in chief was posted
so near the theatre of Action, as to hear the fire
of the besiegers; and notwithstanding they were
joined by 7,000 men from England; yet there
was no opposing the torrent: Antwerp, and the
Scheld, were between the confederates and the
invaders; nor could Breda and Boisseduc be ex-
posed, while Marshal Saxe lay ready to em-
brace the first opportunity of investing them:
however, the confederates sent a detachment of
three English battalions, under General Fuller,
to the assistance of Hulst, which was the next
place that Count Lowendahl invested. The fort
of Sandberg, which covered Hulst, was vigo-
rously defended by the English, who were ob-
liged to retire to Welsthoorden, and leave the
French at leisure to undertake the siege: but
the Duke of Cumberland, at the head of nine
battalions, made an expeditious march to relieve
the town, which was infamously surrendered
before his arrival; though the Dutch governor
knew this reinforcement would be there the
very Day he delivered up the town. The French
then took possession of Axel and Terneuse, by
which

PART which they extended their conquests to the
IX. mouth of the Scheld, and the narrow seas of

Zealand: they afterwards got ready a great
1747. number of flat-bottomed boats for a descent on
the islands of Zealand; but the states of that
province, in conjunction with Robert Mitchel,
Esq; the British commodore, stationed at the
Swin, with a squadron for the security of the
Dutch, made such preparations as frustrated the
intended enterprize: upon which Marshal Saxe
recalled the forces under Count Lowendahl, and
the separate army commanded by Count Cler-
mont, to join the grand army, for fear of an
attack from the Duke of Cumberland, who had
collected the confederate forces together, and
was advanced between the two Nethe; ex-
tending his wings, to the right or the left, as
the motions of the French gave occasion, on
purpose to prevent them from laying siege, ei-
ther to Bergen-op-Zoom on the right, or Mac-
stricht on the left.

So unexpected a calamity, never felt since
1672, occasioned every sign of the deepest con-
sternation among the inhabitants of the United
Provinces: they expected to see such another
declaration as was published by Lewis XIV.
from his camp at Arnheim, on the 24th of June
1672, wherein he threatened, " That such of
" the Dutch inhabitants, of whatever quality
" and condition, who did not voluntarily sub-
" mit to him, and receive the troops he should
" send for their security and defence, or who
" resisted his forces, either by the inundation
" of dykes, or otherwise, should be punished
" with the utmost rigour; that his majesty
" would not give any quarter to the inhabi-
" tants of such cities, but order their goods to
" be

to be plundered, and their houses to be burnt:" CHAP. II.
they remembered the lamentable condition of their country at that time, when the French were in possession of three of their provinces; they considered that by electing the Prince of Orange to the dignity of stadtholder, their ancestors recovered their freedom; and they were all unanimous for pursuing the same measures, at this similar juncture: a resolution which extricated them from the artifices of France, and was productive of an entire reformation in their system of government. 1747.

A THING so just and equitable in itself, and so allowable and void of reproach among civilized nations, as the fulfilling of engagements, equally agreeable to the good faith upon which they were contracted, and to the interests of the republic, was the sole occasion of its present attack by the French; an attack, without any other reason whatsoever, but because the republic would not renounce her engagements; because she would not separate from her allies; and because she would not submit herself to the will and desires of the French monarch, to her own prejudice. As if the destruction of the barrier was insufficient, the hostile invasion was continued against the immediate territory, and ancient possessions of the republic; which, as well as its barrier, were guarantied to their High Mightinesses, on the part of his most Christian Majesty, by the treaty of 1717; and, for this reason, could not be considered in any other light, but as a breach of alliance, that treaty being still in force, since the Dutch were not at a declared war with France. The reasons assigned by the French, for this invasion, could as little stand the test of justice, as they were irreconcil-

PART IX. **1747.** able with the thing itself, and with the hostilities that ensued: for what could they mean, but that it was lawful to invade and possess themselves of a neighbouring country, whenever it was agreeable to their interest; and that, in order to cover their own possessions, they might lawfully seize those belonging to their neighbour? A maxim hitherto unknown in the law of nations, and in all countries in the world; and which, if it was to take place, would put an end to all public safety: ambition is illimitable; no sooner shall an invader have got footing in an adjacent country, but he may, with the same right, or rather with equal injustice, attack his next neighbour: these are the true steps to an universal monarchy; and this a lesson for all the powers of the earth, who are essentially concerned in opposing so pernicious an enterprize, founded upon so pernicious a maxim. This exerted all the resolution of the Dutch; their corrupted deputies trembled for their own security; the fate of De Witte strongly represented the fury of an exasperated populace; and an alteration of the present form of government was concerted in favour of the present Prince of Orange.

THE Dutch republic consists of the seven united provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, Guelderland with Zutphen, and Utrecht; they formerly were a part of the Low Countries, of which the princes of the house of Burgundy, descended from the antient kings of France, were hereditary sovereigns; but, by the heiress of this family marrying Maximilian Archduke of Austria, the Low Countries were transplanted into that family: the Emperor Charles V. left the Low Countries

to his eldest son Philip II. of Spain, who, under the pretence of stopping the progress of, what he called, the Lutheran and Calvinist heresies, attempted to set up the inquisition in the Low Countries; the Walloons took arms, made war, and long defended their religion; the Spaniards recovered the ten provinces called the Netherlands, but they could not hinder the remaining seven provinces from uniting in defence of their religion and liberties, which act of union was signed, on the 29th of January 1579, in the city of Utrecht, and gave name to the United Provinces, whereby they compelled the Spaniards to own them for a free people. By this union, each province is become an independent state, and enjoys an absolute sovereignty, having a power to make new laws for themselves separately, and enforce their execution by capital punishments: as to the right of making war, or peace, it lies in the assembly of the States General; in which all the provinces are represented by their own deputies, who assemble at the Hague; and though the senate generally consists of fifty deputies, they have no vote of their own, but the votes are collected by the number of provinces. The states of each province are composed of deputies, chosen by the nobility and people; and from these provincial assemblies are elected the representatives they send to the States General; where always one deputy presides, by the name of the president of the week, because his office continues for that time: each province presides in its turn, and this honour is always conferred on the most eminent person of its deputation, who receives all memorials and petitions, presents them to the assembly, causes them to be read and examined, proposes

PART poses all matters to be debated, collects the
IX. votes, and declares the resolutions of the assembly. No military officer can sit in this senate,
 1747. being excluded by an express resolution passed in the year 1624 : however, when there is a captain-general of their forces, he has a right to enter the assembly, and make such proposals as he judges proper, but he must retire the moment these proposals come under deliberation. The deputies are usually chosen for three years, or for six at most, unless when their commission is renewed ; but the province of Holland has one deputy for the nobles who sits for life, as does the deputy for the clergy of the province of Utrecht, and the four deputies from Zealand : amongst the deputies from Holland there is one called the pensionary, who constantly assists in the assembly of the States General, and is the only one who enjoys that privilege without a particular commission ; and the posts of Grefrier, or secretary of the states, is not only one of the most honourable and lucrative employments of the republic, but also one of the most fatiguing and troublesome. Though it is in the assembly of the States General, that peace and war are determined, yet it is as true that their High Migh-
 tinesses can form no resolutions of this kind, nor even conclude any treaty with a foreign power, without the unanimous consent of all the provinces ; and their consent is not only necessary in the assembly of the States General, but in the provincial assemblies, where nothing can be concluded without the unanimous consent of all the deputies in each particular province, and where it is in the power of any single town to put a negative on the question ; which occasions delay and irresolution in their proceedings, from
 whence

whence arises that source of corruption which CHAP. gives an opportunity, to the enemies of the re- II. public, to bribe the deputies to disregard the interest of their constituents, and retard the 1747. most salutary measures for the state.

IN most forms of government, there is some power which is never exerted but upon the most pressing emergencies; some office which is never erected but when the community is in real danger; and some resort to which no application is made till every other expedient has failed: by these, great advantages are often procured, and affairs retrieved from a state almost desperate, because they are never prostituted for private purposes; besides, when they are thought necessary, every man is convinced that danger is at hand, and incited by a regard to his own safety, to contribute his utmost endeavours to the preservation of the public. Nothing does so much honour to monarchy, as the readiness in subjects of republics to have recourse to something like it, whenever their affairs were in a desperate condition: this happened frequently among the Grecian states, and also in Rome, where they had a legal provision for that purpose, by which, when the very constitution of the state was in danger, they invested a certain person with absolute power, as Agamemnon, Leonidas, and Philip of Macedon, among the Greeks, who presided over their confederated armies; and as in Rome, under the title of dictator, who was to take care that the commonwealth suffered no detriment: this evinces that they perceived the necessity of yielding to that government for certain seasons, though they provided for the abolition of it as soon as that necessity was over: this example was followed by the Dutch when

PART. they revolted from the Spanish monarch, and

IX. chose William I. Prince of Orange for Captain-General and Stadtholder of the United Provinces.

1747. This prince was principally concerned in promoting the union of the seven provinces, and, happily for his countrymen, defeated all the attempts of the Duke of Alva, the Spanish general, in reducing the provinces to the obedience of Philip II. who was so exasperated at the conduct and popularity of the prince, that he hired Balthazar Gerard to assassinate him, which was executed, on the 10th of July 1584, in his own palace at Delft. The states immediately conferred all his honours, and employments, upon his son, Prince Maurice, who held his authority till 1626, when he was succeeded by his brother Frederic Henry, under whose administration the states began to flourish in a considerable light. Frederic Henry died in 1647, and was succeeded by his son William II; it was with him the states, or rather some ambitious members of the republic, began their quarrels, which they were the better able to manage, since, by the military virtues of the Princes of Orange, they had triumphed over all their enemies, and were acknowledged as a free state: but, before these broils were totally composed, the prince died, and, seven days after, the Princess Mary his widow, who was the eldest daughter of Charles I. of England, was brought to bed of William III. Prince of Orange, afterwards King of England. In 1654 the States General made a treaty with Oliver Cromwell, by which they engaged to exclude the young Prince from all employments; and soon after they made a law to abolish the office of stadtholder, with the posts of captain-general and admiral, which was called the act of

of exclusion : but in the peace concluded between Charles II. and the States General, in 1668, it was agreed, that when the Prince of Orange was of age, he should enjoy the posts of captain-general and admiral : whether this was really intended, or not, is uncertain ; however, when the French, in 1672, invaded their provinces, the states found the necessary quotas for levying troops were denied by several of the cities, until a captain-general was nominated ; and the people compelled the states not only to declare the Prince of Orange stadtholder, but to send deputies to release him from the oath he had taken never to accept of that employment : the prince was elected captain-general and admiral of the United Provinces, and governor of Holland and Zealand, by which he was restored to all the posts and honours which his ancestors had exercised so much to the welfare and reputation of the republic : he found his country in a melancholy situation ; invaded, on three different sides, by the armies of France, Cologne, and Munster ; molested at sea by the English ; and distracted by intestine commotions ; yet the young prince nobly encountered and overcame the difficulties that surrounded him : as the people were for removing several magistrates, his highness sent circular letters to all the towns, declaring that the calamities of the state, proceeded chiefly from the treachery and cowardice of the governors, officers, and soldiers, appointed to defend the frontier places : the prince put himself at the head of the Dutch forces ; he disappointed the attempts of Marshal Luxemburg, he drove the French from Naerden, in the province of Holland, and obliged them to abandon their conquests in the provinces of

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PART Utrecht, Guelderland, and Overysfel; he also

IX. sent Admiral Ruyter, with a strong squadron,

to drive the French out of the Caribbee Islands,

1747. and though it was an ineffectual attempt, yet the prince recovered the reputation and the territories of his country, procured an honourable peace, and retained his dignity to his death; after which the form of government, which had subsisted before he was made stadtholder, was resumed. William III. appointed John William Frizo, Prince of Nassau Diets, for his successor to the hereditary possessions of the house of Orange: this prince was elected hereditary stadtholder of Friesland, but he was accidentally drowned, in passing a river in Holland, on the 14th of July 1711, leaving for his successor William Charles Henry Frizo, his only son by Maria Louisa, daughter of Charles Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who was born on the 21st of August 1711, five weeks after the death of his father, and was married, on the 14th of March 1734, to the Princess Anne the eldest daughter of his Britannic Majesty: this prince succeeded his father in the hereditary stadtholdership of Friesland; he was also elected stadtholder of the provinces of Groningen and Guelderland; but he was so far neglected by the other provinces, that they even refused to promote him to the same military rank which they were conferring on foreigners; tho' the danger of the republic invested him with all the dignity of his ancestors, augmented with that perpetuity of honour which was never before granted by the republic.

THE successful invasion of Dutch Brabant, by Count Lowendahl, obliged the republic to have recourse to the same means as proved their preservation

servation in 1672, by electing a stadtholder. CHAP.

The Prince of Orange sent a letter to the states II.

of Zealand, representing, " That, in the critical situation the republic in general found it- 1747.

" self, and particularly the province of Zealand,
" by the hostile invasion of the French in that
" part of Flanders, which confined directly up-
" on their province, he thought it was indis-
" pensably his duty to offer to their noble might-
" nesses, to whom he had the honour of being
" a vassal, his person and services for the de-
" fence of the province of Zealand, in such
" manner as their noble mightinesses should
" think most advantageous to the province,
" and its good inhabitants. THAT, if their noble
" mightinesses were pleased to accept of his
" offers, he was ready to risk, with joy, and
" with the same zeal that his ancestors had
" shewn, his life and fortune for the public
" good, for the preservation of the province of
" Zealand in particular, as well as for the de-
" fence and support of the precious pledges of
" religion and liberty, which were in such great
" danger. THAT he was ready to repair where
" they should think fit, to contribute, at his
" own charges and expence, without any to the
" province, in that critical conjuncture, every
" thing in his power for the common defence of
" what was most precious, and to encounter,
" with their noble mightinesses, and the inha-
" bitants of Zealand, all the dangers to which
" they seemed to be subject." The states of
Zealand, upon receipt of this letter, unanimously
concurred in a resolution, which was passed on
the 28th of April, whereby their noble mighti-
nesses nominated the Prince of Orange Stadt-
holder, Captain General, and Admiral of the
pro-

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province of Zealand : this resolution was immediately notified to the prince, who was then at his palace in Leuwarden, the capital city of the province of Friesland, from whence his highness, on the 1st of May, sent another letter to the states of Zealand, wherein he acquainted them, " THAT his zeal for the public welfare, " his love for his country, the blood from " whence he descended, and the name that " he bore, did not suffer him to reject so unanimous a request. That he accepted these " important charges, with a heart full of gratitude for the trust which their high mightinesses had been pleased to repose in him ; in " hopes that he might be a means of re-establishing the public repose, of driving the misfortunes with which they were threatened at " a great distance, and for ever establishing the " inestimable pledges of religion and liberty in " the United Provinces." His highness accelerated his voyage to Middleburg, situate in the island of Walcheren, and the capital of Zealand, where he deliberated, with the states, how to execute the proper measures for the security of the province, which was put into a very defensible situation : the utility of their resolution was apparent to all the inhabitants of the United Provinces ; the city of Rotterdam followed the example, the whole province of Holland concurred, and all the other provinces were so voluntarily desirous of pursuing the steps of the province of Zealand, that the Prince of Orange, on the 2d of May, was appointed, in the assembly of the States General, stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral in chief, of the United Provinces : this resolution was immediately transmitted to his highness, who instantly repaired

to the Hague, where, on the 4th of May, he was conducted into the assembly of the states, by the Counts Randwyk and Bentinck; when the latter made a speech to the assembly, in which he represented, "THAT the re-establishment of the ancient form of government would re-establish concord in the republic, cause deliberations to be brought sooner to maturity, and occasion a wise distribution of rewards and punishments, without which no government could subsist. THAT by such means, and the conduct of a Prince of Orange, the republic had been raised to this high pitch of felicity and grandeur, from the low and contemptible ebb to which it was reduced, even to have neither force nor direction, to be the derision of its enemies, and a useless burthen to its friends. THAT they doubted not but the prince, whom they had the honour of presenting to the assembly, would tread in the steps of his glorious ancestors, and heartily concur with them in delivering the republic, and preserving it from the yoke of a treacherous and deceitful neighbour, who made a jest of good faith, honour, and the most solemn treaties." The Prince of Orange then addressed the assembly, in an elegant speech, informing them, "THAT he had been acquainted of their nominating him to such an important office: upon the first view of such a burthen he could not but doubt of his ability to support it; above all, when he considered that such a station required that the person, who was invested with it, should be master of military knowledge, of which he had never yet had any opportunity to gain experience; to supply which deficiency, he had given his

" ut-

“utmost application to the study of it, and
 “would yet double it. THAT he always im-
 “plored the aid of that God, who had been
 “the support of his illustrious ancestors: as
 “he proposed to tread in their steps, he hoped
 “to experience the same divine protection; and
 “that by giving up his person, life, and for-
 “tune, as they had done before him, he should
 “be able, as they were, to rescue the republic
 “from the danger with which she was threat-
 “ened.” After which his serene highness was
 installed into the dignity of stadtholder, with all
 the usual ceremonies, to the universal joy of the
 whole republic; for the administration of the
 government was now in a great measure invested
 in the Prince of Orange, partly as stadtholder,
 and partly as captain-general and admiral in chief:
 the states alone had the power of making war or
 concluding a peace, of entering into foreign alli-
 ances, raising of taxes, and coining of money; but
 the prince had the disposal of all military commands
 both by land and sea, in time of war by his own
 commission, in time of peace by that of the states;
 as stadtholder, or governor, he represented the su-
 preme civil magistrate, in which capacity he
 pardoned offenders, and nominated magistrates,
 the towns presenting him the names of three,
 out of which he chose one; in him resided the
 dignity of the state; he had a palace, a court,
 his guards, and all the other marks of external
 grandeur incident to princes; to him foreign
 ministers paid their court, as did every one who
 was inclined to serve his country in the fleet or
 army; in the council of state he had a seat, and
 a decisive voice, but not in the assembly of the
 States General, though nothing could be trans-
 acted there without his knowledge, or against
 his

his consent. It is very certain, from the exercise of this office in the United Provinces, that the power of the republic was never at a stand, till the office of stadtholder was laid aside ; and, in the opinion of judicious and impartial people, the commonwealth has been declining ever since : of this the republic was also thoroughly sensible, and in such a manner that, soon afterwards, the dignity of stadtholder was made perpetual in the Prince of Orange, and his issue, whether male or female ; by which he acquired more substantial honours than were conferred upon any of his illustrious progenitors.

THIS alteration in the government was productive of the most beneficial consequences to the republic, its allies, and all Europe : the States General prohibited the exportation of provisions and warlike stores, except for the service of the confederate armies, and their colonies ; they ordered the inhabitants of Breda, Boisseduc, and the other towns of the generality, with every tenth man of the peasantry, to bear arms ; and they also prohibited all treaties with the French about contributions, with strict orders to refuse pioneers, waggons, horses, or any assistance that might be required of them : a resolution was made for augmenting the army with 30,000 men ; the city of Amsterdam began to raise eighteen companies of militia of 100 men each, and several other cities followed their example : a council of war was established for examining into the conduct of the governors of the barrier towns : and the states of Zealand ordered their governors and commanders, both at land and sea, to attack, seize, and bring in all ships, as well in harbour as out of the same, coming from the French harbours or coasts.



CHAPTER III.

The continuation of the campaign in the NETHERLANDS ; and the battle of VAL, or MAESTRICHT : the siege of BERGEN-OP-ZOOM ; the reduction of LILLO, and other places, in DUTCH BRABANT ; and the termination of the campaign.

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AS soon as the revolution in Holland had begun to take effect, it seemed agreeable to prudence to put nothing to the hazard till that was rendered complete ; which occasioned it to be the earnest entreaty and advice of the Prince of Orange, communicated by M. de Grovestein, his master of the horse, to the Duke of Cumberland, to confine his measures to the single view of covering Maestricht and Bergen-op-Zoom, till he had established his interest in the provinces, and to risque nothing, while an event of so much importance to the common cause was still depending. While Count Lowendahl, and the Marquis de Contades, were extending the French conquests in Dutch Brabant, the confederate army, on the 20th of April, began

to

to bestir themselves, after lying inactive above fourteen weeks, with an intention of retaking Antwerp; but this city was under cover of the whole French army, and being so well fortified and protected, the confederates found the impossibility of executing their design; which occasioned them to retire between the two Nethes, for the security of Bergen-op-Zoom and Maastricht: though the French continued quiet in their cantonments till the 22d of May, when their monarch made his arrival at Brussels, upon which the necessary dispositions were made to dislodge the confederates; but not till after the French had employed 20,000 men in digging a canal from Mechlin to Louvain, to be filled with the waters of the river Dyle, a work which would not only promote the commerce, but the security of those defenceless towns, while Marshal Saxe was pursuing his scheme of reducing Maastricht. The Duke of Cumberland very vigilantly attended the motions of the French, who quitted their cantonments, and marched into the territory adjacent to Louvain; from whence they extended themselves as far as the sources of the Demer, within the neighbourhood of Bilsen, in the country of Liege, six miles west of Maastricht; where the Duke of Marlborough marched to attack the French, when he obtained the battle of Ramillies. The confederates apprehending, from the motions of the French, that they intended to invest Maastricht, judged it necessary to remove from behind the Demer, for the preservation of so important a place, which had been in the possession of the Dutch almost a century: the confederates, therefore, resolved to march with all expedition, and place themselves between the French and Maastricht,

PART Maestricht, which brought on a battle between
 IX. the two armies. The French were drawing so near
 to Maestricht, that Count Clermont, with 14,000
 1747. men, had taken post at Tongres, three miles
 north of Bilsen, and about six to the S. W. of
 Maestricht: the confederates proposed marching
 to take possession of the camp between Tongres
 and Bilsen; on the 16th of June, they decamp-
 ed from behind the Demer, marched all night,
 and next day encamped at Zonork; on the 19th
 they arrived at Haffelt, and marched by the
 left, in three columns, towards Lonaken, two
 miles N. E. of Maestricht, encamping the
 same night, between that place and Ghenck,
 about half a league south of Lonaken; at the
 same time the different detachments under Count
 Daun, and the Prince of Wolfembutte, with
 the hussars under General Baronai, passed Bilsen,
 and encamped at the Grand Commandery;
 where it was observed that the corps of Count
 Clermont had not retired behind Tongres, but
 were still occupying the high ground from thence
 to Tongreberg, notwithstanding the approach
 of the confederates, which made it evident that
 Marshal Saxe intended to sustain that corps with
 his whole force, and, if possible, to gain the
 camp of Bilsen. This position of the French
 army made it impracticable to intercept the
 corps commanded by Count Clermont: it was
 therefore resolved, by the Duke of Cumberland,
 Marshal Bathiani, and Prince Waldeck, to take
 possession of the camp of Bilsen, extending the
 left to Millen, about three miles and a half south
 of Lonaken, and about the same distance west
 of Maestricht; for which purpose the confede-
 rate army had orders to march by break of day.
 On the 20th of June, the confederates were put
 in

in motion, the English, Hanoverians, and Hef-
sians being on the left, inclining to Maestricht ;
the Dutch in the centre ; and the Imperialists
on the right, extending to Bilsen : about four in
the morning the French cavalry were observed
to be in motion, stretching towards the right
of the confederates, who immediately concluded
this was a design to gain the heights of Millen,
and Herdereen, about three quarters of a mile
to the N. W. of Millen, and to fall on the head
of the confederate columns, which were then in
march from their camp inclining that way : about
six, the French irregulars, who flanked the
march of the confederate columns, were skir-
mishing with the Austrian hussars and Lycani-
ans ; in the mean time the Prince of Wolfem-
bottle was ordered to occupy the villages of
Grote and Kleine Späwe, lying between Bilsen
and Herdereen, with the Hessian infantry, and
to form his cavalry in the plain between those
villages and the Grand Commandery ; which
effectually secured the post at Bilsen. However
the French found time to occupy the heights
of Herdereen, where they presented three lines
of cavalry on the hill, with their irregulars, both
horse and foot, before them : this made it im-
mediately necessary for the confederates to alter
the intended position of their left, since they
could not obtain possession of those heights ; ac-
cordingly it was unanimously agreed to extend
the left to Wirle, within a mile to the west of
Maestricht, and about three miles from Herde-
reen, the right still occupying Bilsen as in the
former position. As soon as the left wing of the
confederate cavalry came up, it was formed in
the plain below Herdereen, to check the French
from advancing, and give the British and Hano-
verian

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verian infantry, who were behind them, time to come up: which was executed, with great spirit, under the direction of Sir John Ligonier. After this, the whole day was spent in forming the confederate army, and it was determined to receive the French attack, if they thought fit to bring on a general action; as by advancing they would, in some degree, give up the advantage of their ground: in consequence of this resolution, the villages of the Grand Commandery, and the two Spawes, were filled with infantry of the corps of reserve, and a part of the detachment under Count Daun, whilst the rest made a flank towards Bilsen, where there was a strong post, with cannon, to prevent the French from coming round: after which both armies cannonaded each other in the evening; but it grew so late that no engagement could be expected: however as the French were determined to begin the attack in the morning, they brought more squadrons upon the hill of Herdereen, during the night, where they threw up some works upon the brow of the hill; several batteries of the English artillery were placed to rake the French as they came down the hills; and both armies were intent on making the best dispositions for a battle, the British forces lying upon their arms, though the Imperialists and Dutch encamped.

ON the 21st of June, as soon as the nocturnal gloom was dissipated, the French marshal put his troops into motion for the attack, advancing the best brigades, among which were the Irish troops that so bravely distinguished themselves at Fontenoy, towards the left wing of the confederates; the most advanced part of which were posted at the village of Val, within a mile

a mile to the south of Wirle, consisting of the British regiments of Crawford, Pulteney, and Dejean, with Freudeman's Hanoverian battalion.

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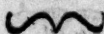
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The confederate generals diligently reconnoitred the French, who, about nine o'clock, were discerned, by Sir John Ligonier, to be advancing towards Val: this general sent Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes to the Duke of Cumberland with this intelligence, who immediately went thither; Marshal Bathiani, and Prince Waldeck, going, at the same time, to prepare their respective corps. No sooner were the confederate batteries of the left wing all fixed for the reception of the enemy, than the French infantry appeared coming down into the plain, through a valley, formed in a vast column of ten battalions in front and seven deep, bearing directly at the village of Val, being a small enclosure with five houses in it, where almost the whole action happened, which continued about five hours. The British batteries continued firing the whole time the French were advancing, as well upon their infantry, as the squadrons of horse that supported the right and left flanks of their columns; and these batteries brought a terrible execution among the French, who, notwithstanding the violence of the shot, carried on their attack with amazing vigour and intrepidity. At ten o'clock the cannonading, of the French side, began against the village of Val, with the field-pieces that they brought with their infantry; the second shot of which killed the Baron Ziggessaer, the German aid de camp to the Duke of Cumberland; and this was immediately followed by the attack of their first brigades, who advanced with abundance of bravery, but were received with equal courage.

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THE first brigades of the French were soon dispersed, with prodigious loss; as were their second, third, and fourth divisions. Overpowered by this constant supply of fresh troops, the regiments in Val were obliged to give way; but, being sustained by the regiments of Wolfe, Charles Howard, Conway, and the Hanoverians of Haus, they returned to the charge, and recovered their post. The French brigades of Navarre, La Marque, Monaco, with Royal des Vaisseaux, were entirely ruined, and the Irish brigade suffered extremely: however they still kept pouring on fresh lines of foot; these were also several times repulsed; but as the French had fresh regiments immediately to succeed the weakened battalions, they again took possession of the village, where the British and Hanoverian battalions valiantly disputed the victory, and, notwithstanding the great superiority of the French, entered the village each of them four or five different times. The instant that the French made the first general discharge of small arms at the village, the Duke of Cumberland ordered one of his aides de camp to go immediately to Marshal Bathiani, to inform him that the left was attacked, that the French marshal appeared determined to make his whole effort upon Val, and therefore desired he would be attentive to support him speedily and effectually: the marshal returned for answer that he was doing his utmost for that purpose, having ordered away directly for the right, the nine battalions of the left wing which had been detached with Count Daun, and the five that were with the corps of reserve; and would likewise support his highness as much further as was possible: besides this infantry, part of the squadrons under Count Daun.

Daun were ordered to join the left: the part CHAP.
of Daun's detachment arrived time enough to III.
go into the village and do great execution, but 
the five battalions from the corps of reserve did 1747.
not arrive till after, as they were posted further

on the right. The British and Hanoverian troops behaved so well in the line, that, about twelve o'clock, the Duke of Cumberland ordered the whole left wing to advance upon the French, whose infantry gave way so fast, that they were obliged to put cavalry behind them, and on their flanks, to drive them on with their swords: the center began likewise to advance under Prince Waldeck, who was at the head of the Dutch the whole day: and the Duke of Cumberland desired Marshal Bathiani to advance, as his ground would allow him, towards Herdereen, to annoy the flank of the French; which he did, driving them out of the village of Elcht, situate in the front of the hill of Herdereen, where they had taken post the night before; however the Austrians on the right could not advance so fast as the left wing, though they kept moving on, and prevented the French from detaching any more troops from their left to the right. The French prepared to meet the confederates, and began to advance more infantry of their reserve from Rempst, all inclining to Val, and part of their cavalry of the right inclined to the center, to keep up the foot; when, the five battalions of the confederate corps of reserve, as they were coming from the right towards Val, were over thrown by the misconduct of some Dutch squadrons in the center, who perceived the infantry before them prest hard upon by the French, and giving way; but the Dutch, instead of sustaining them, turned their backs, went on a full gallop to the right

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about, and, together with the French, bore down, and trampled upon, these battalions. The Duke of Cumberland rode immediately to the head of the Dutch cavalry, and endeavoured, with the assistance of the Dutch Major-General Cannenberg, to rally them, but in vain; the French squadrons had already entered with them, completed the confusion, and divided the confederates: while the Duke of Cumberland with difficulty rejoined the left wing, whose right flank, and the right flank of the village they sustained, was now exposed to two fires. Though the Duke of Cumberland had desired more infantry from the right wing before this, and six more battalions were in march to join him, yet this unexpected cowardice of the Dutch so disconcerted all precautions, that it was time to think of making good the retreat to Maestricht: however the British cavalry, and some squadrons of the Imperialists commanded by General Bournonville, which had began to advance before, led on by Sir John Ligonier, were already got so far as to be on the point of charging the French cavalry, and did it so successfully as to overthrow all before them; but, being too eager in the pursuit, they received a sharp fire from some battalions which the French had posted in a hollow way, and some hedges, to favour the flight of their horse; by which the pursuers suffered a good deal; notwithstanding which they dispersed those battalions, and some fresh squadrons which the French sent down upon them; though, in this attack, Sir John Ligonier had his horse killed, and was made prisoner by a carabineer; but these efforts were vain, while the confederate army was separated: the Duke of Cumberland, therefore, ordered

dered the cavalry off; he also sent word to Mar-
shal Bathiani that he should retire towards Mae-
stricht, and move towards Veltwessel and Lona-
ken, to favour his retreat. This being done,
the retreat was put into execution, about three
in the afternoon; the left wing retiring slowly,
and in good order, bringing off all the heavy
field artillery, though they left sixteen pieces of
small cannon behind. Marshal Saxe, perceiv-
ing the route of the left wing of the confede-
rates, ordered a body of troops to pursue them
to Maestricht; at the same time giving orders
for attacking the right, in which were the Aus-
trians and Dutch: but the French were deter-
red from attacking the left wing of the confe-
derates, who retreated with the greatest regula-
rity, and were only cannonaded in their march to
Maestricht, where they arrived about five o'clock;
the Imperialists and Dutch also arrived there a-
bout seven, tho' the former were briskly attacked
in their retreat, from which they disengaged them-
selves to the prejudice of the French, who immedi-
ately occupied the posts which the Allies had aban-
doned, with thirty battalions and as many squadrons.

THE French lost about 1,200 horse, and
9,000 foot, either killed or wounded, and
amongst them four lieutenant-generals; they
had also 700 men, and 60 officers, taken pri-
soners, amongst which were the Brigadier Mar-
quis de Blondel, and the fourth brother to Lord
Dillon, who commanded the regiment of that
name: they also lost six standards, seven pair of
colours, and three colour staves. The loss of the
confederates was greatly less, though it fell al-
most wholly upon the English, Hanoverians,
and Hessians: the former had 2,110 men killed,
wounded, or taken prisoners, including officers;

PART the Hanoverians 2,435; and the Hessians 385:

IX. the Austrians also lost 600 men, and the Dutch

1747. 150; in all 5,680; with sixteen pieces of cannon, four English standards, and one pair of Hanoverian colours: the principal officers killed among the English, were, Lieutenant-Colonel Williams of Major-General Howard's regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel Ross of Douglas's; the wounded were Major-General Bland, Lord Glasgow, the Lieutenant-Colonels Macdougall, Martin, Lockart, Deane, Stanhope, and Jackson; and the prisoners were Sir John Ligonier, Colonel Conway, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Robert Sutton of the Duke's regiment of dragoons: among the Hanoverians, Colonel Hardenberg, and two lieutenant-colonels were killed; Lieutenant-General Druchtleben, Brigadier Sporcken, Colonel de Munchow, and seven lieutenant-colonels, were wounded: but none of these accidents happened to any officer of distinction among the rest of the confederate army.

THE confederates immediately passed the Maese, into the Duchy of Limberg, where they encamped, and extended to Vilet; the head quarters being at Heer, about two miles south of Maestricht; though they threw up intrenchments at Lichtenberg, on the western side of the Maese opposite to Heer, and also on the mountain of St Peter between Lichtenberg and Maestricht: while the French continued in their former situation about Tongres, their monarch having his head quarters at the castle of Hamal, on the south side of the Jaar, about one third of the way between Tongres and Maestricht.

THOUGH the confederates lost the honour of the victory, they secured Maestricht; but Bergen-op-Zoom became the victim of this partial defeat:

defeat: for Count Lowendahl immediately march-
ed to invest it, with 36,000 men, as soon as the
confederates had passed the Maese; while Mar-
shal Saxe made several marches, and counter-
marches, to amuse the allies, who could not so
far penetrate into their scheme, as to make any
probable guess at their absolute destination:
some time it was conjectured they aimed at
Breda, at others that Lillo was what they want-
ed; when, on a sudden, it was known that they
were marching to Bergen-op-Zoom, about fifty
miles north of Maestricht, where they arrived,
on the 12th of July, to the great surprize and
consternation of the inhabitants, who immedi-
ately sent an express with intelligence of it to the
Prince Stadtholder; upon which the council of
state was assembled at the Hague, where it was
instantly resolved, that troops should be directly
sent to the relief of Bergen-op-Zoom, and
all the military in the provinces were ordered to
join the corps under the direction of the Prince
of Saxe-Hildburghausen, formerly field-mar-
shal in the imperial service, who had, by this
time, very prudently got within the lines of
Bergen-op-Zoom, and, with the junction of these
troops, found himself at the head of twenty bat-
talions and fourteen squadrons; besides which he
speedily expected a strong reinforcement, under
Prince Waldeck, from the confederate army on
the Maese.

BERGEN-OP-ZOOM is the strongest fortifica-
tion of Dutch Brabant, situate upon a branch
of the Scheld, which separates it from Zealand,
twenty miles west of Breda, and twenty north
from Antwerp; literally signifying the hill upon
the Zoom, or Hem, and metaphorically a border,
or boundary. The town is situate upon an emi-
nence,

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PART nence, and bears the title of a marquifate, hav-

IX. ing an appenaged diftrict about thirty miles long

from north to fouth, and about eighteen broad:

1747. this was erected into a marquifate, by the Emperor

Charles V. in favour of Antonio de Glimes, his

favourite; fince which it defcended, by heirs

female, to the elector palatine, who was, in fome

fort, fovereign of it, but held it as a moving

fief of the duchy of Brabant, and the States Ge-

neral had a right to keep a garrifon there for

the fecurity of their frontiers; the whole reve-

nue to the elector being between 80 and 90,000

florins a year. The town contained twenty good

ftreets, five fquares, and about 1,100 houfes, the

number of inhabitants being about 7,000: it was

befieged in vain by the Prince of Parma in 1558;

and again, in 1622, by the Marquis Spinola, who

was obliged to quit it with the lofs of 10,000 men.

The States General, confidering the importance

of it, got it fortified, in 1700, by the famous

Cochorn, their engineer general, who erected a

large half moon on the fide of Antwerp, called

Kyk en de pot, ftrengthened by four good re-

doubts, furnifhed with cannon, and joining a

fortified line: on the fide of the Scheld were two

canals, called old and new harbour, by which,

at every tide, provifions and fupplies might be

carried into the town, in fpite of the befiegers:

the entrance of the new harbour was covered

by a regular fort, of five baffions, called Zuyd

Schants, fo fituated as to defend the entrance of

both harbours: on the fide of Steenberg, to

the north, were the forts of Moermont, Piffen,

and Rover, about a quarter of a mile diftance

from each other, with a well fortified line extended

to fort Rover, beyond which was an inundation

reaching to Steenberg; befides, by means of

luices, a great part of the country round the

town

town might be laid under water: on the east CHAP.
was another inundation formed by the waters of III.
the Scheld and the Zoom, which rendered the
country, on that side, marshy and inaccessible: 1747.

the body of the town was defended by a rampart, about a league in circumference, flanked by ten bastions, which were covered by five horn-works: the ramparts were mounted with 150 pieces of artillery; and the Prince of Hesse Philipsthal commanded in the town, with a garrison of 3,000 men.

COUNT LOWENDAHL invested the town only on the side of Antwerp, when he sent a message to the governor demanding him to surrender the place; who replied, that he was determined to defend it to the last extremity: for it is to be observed, that the governor had so easy a communication with the lines of Rosendahl, that provisions and reinforcements could never be wanting, while that communication was preserved; besides, at that very juncture, the magazines were plentifully stored, and all the fortifications in excellent order: the French immediately began to break ground, and throw up trenches; but their heavy artillery did not arrive till the 16th of July, when they erected three batteries, and began to play furiously against the lines and upon the town, which was so vigorously returned that the besiegers lost a great number of men. On the 18th Baron Cronstrom arrived in the town, being appointed, by the stadtholder, governor of Brabant; so that now the garrison was commanded by this ancient general, who began to make a resolute defence; while the French not only exacted heavy contributions in the adjacent country, but fired, from three batteries of cannon and two of mortars,
red

PART red hot balls, bombs, and carcases, into the
 IX. town, which made great desolation, burning
 down several houses, and the magnificent colle-
 1747. giate church dedicated to St Gertrude.

THE French spent nine days in making their approaches, during which they suffered very severely from the batteries of the town and forts; for some of their magazines were blown up, and several of their best engineers destroyed: they had made an unsuccessful attempt at the head of the lines towards Steenberg; and they received a terrible repulse in attacking the fort Kyk en de pot: the garrison in the town was diminished by the loss of several men; but the loss among the besiegers was incredible, they were advanced near enough to be killed by the musketry, and they carried on the attack surrounded with scenes of desolation, their lines, and even their trenches, being full of dead bodies, swelled, bloated, and infectious with putrefaction. The besiegers were so annoyed with the stench of the slain, that Count Lowendahl, on the 23d of July, sent a message to Baron Cronstrom, desiring a suspension of arms, that he might have an opportunity of burying his dead, and removing so many shocking and pernicious sights from the trenches: but the governor told the messenger, " That it was the business of a general to
 " take towns, not wilfully to destroy them;
 " such acts shewing more of the fury and
 " brutality of the tartar, than the courage and
 " gallantry of the soldier: that Count Lowen-
 " dahl, instead of obtaining conquest in a
 " brave and noble manner, was endeavouring
 " to spread around an universal desolation; and,
 " therefore, it was the inflexible resolution of
 " the governor, the council of war, and the
 " gar-

“garrison in general, that they would not al-
“low a suspension of arms, and neither give,
“nor receive, that, or any other, favour.”

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III.

This redoubled the fury of the French artillery, and Count Lowendahl was determined to make an attempt upon Steenberg, to destroy the communication of the town and country; but the place was reinforced by a detachment from the lines, and the French repulsed with considerable loss. 1747.

THE besiegers had now lost upwards of 5,000 men, but they were reinforced by 10,000, sent, by Marshal Saxe, under the Count St Germain; though, as there was a great scarcity of provisions among them, a great number of the French were incapable of service. The besiegers were now employing their miners, to advance by sap towards the outworks of the town, directing their aim to the polygon of Coehorn; while a strong detachment opened the trenches against the forts Rover and Pilsen, in the front of the lines, where the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen commanded: but the British regiment of highlanders, commanded by Lord John Murray, made a sally, on the 29th of July, from fort Rover, slew 400 of the besiegers, burnt their batteries, and drove them from the trenches, to which they returned, and, after making three unsuccessful attacks against the forts, entirely abandoned the attempt.

THE besiegers directed all their attention to make a lodgment before the town; several sallies were made by the garrison, and three of the French batteries destroyed; notwithstanding which, on the 10th of August, the besiegers sprung a mine, in the night, under the salient angle of the bastion of Coehorn, which making
some

PART. some way for them, they resolutely forced them-

IX. selves into the covered way, where they proposed to make a lodgment; but the garrison, being well apprized of their intentions, fell upon them with such fierceness and determination, that, in a little time, the French were repulsed, with a dreadful slaughter: during the time of assault, the garrison sprung a mine, which did terrible execution, instantaneously blowing up two companies of grenadiers of the regiment of Normandy; which obliged the French to retreat from their intended lodgment, after the loss of 1,500 men.

PRINCE WALDECK, who had conducted a body of forces from the confederate army to Dutch Brabant, resigned his command, at Boileduc, to Lieutenant-General Baron Schwartzemberg; who was joined, at Oudenbosch, by Major General Burmania, with all the cavalry from the lines, when his force consisted of twenty battalions and thirty-two squadrons; with which he proposed to make an attack upon the besiegers, while the troops under the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, in the lines, and those in the town, were to sally upon them in front: the attempt was begun on the 11th of August, about seven in the morning, by the village of Wou, but they found the besiegers so strongly intrenched, that it was impossible to fall on them to any advantage, which made them retire to the lines: it had however the good effect to secure the junction of General Baronai, at the head of 6,000 light horse, with the army; the alarm among the besiegers having recalled the Count St Germain, who was sent to intercept them. The same evening the besiegers formed a lodgment near the bastion of Zealand; several engineers

engineers arrived from England for the defence of the town; and a terrible fire was maintained by the garrison and the besiegers; both suffered by mining and countermining, and, on the 15th, the French attacked the lunette of Zealand, but had 200 men blown up, and great part of their works ruined, by a mine; they advanced however to the assault, but were twice repulsed, the action lasting two hours, with a continual fire from the cannon and musketry: the next morning, the besiegers returned to the charge, and, after several repulses, took post on the lunette, the besieged keeping possession of the jambour, from whence they vainly endeavoured to dislodge the besiegers, though they blew up 300 of them. The mining continued incessantly, with dreadful execution; and the besiegers set several of the streets in flames; but, on the 25th of August, being the feast of St Lewis, upon which day Count Lowendahl had promised the French monarch to make him a present of Bergen-op-Zoom, the French threw an incredible number of red hot balls into the town, and made three attacks on the lunette of Utrecht, where they were repulsed with considerable loss. The army of Baron Schwartzemberg, by a reinforcement from the Duke of Cumberland, was now augmented to forty battalions and 10,000 horse: the besiegers were also reinforced by 12,000 men, and Count Lowendahl dismounted his cavalry to do duty in the trenches. Sallies, mines, and countermines, continued, with equal loss on both sides, till the 10th of September, when the besiegers played violently, from six batteries, against the lines and the town, particularly at the bastions of Coehorn and Pucelle, and the ravelin of Dedem, which they battered in breach:

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breach : the fire was vigorously returned by the garrison, so that nothing but the thunder of cannon, bursting of bombs, and the dismal groans of the wounded, were to be heard ; nothing was to be seen but sheets of lightning and smoke ; which continued till the 15th, when the besiegers had made a considerable breach in the ravelin of Dedem, and four breaches in the bastions of Pucelle and Coehorn ; which encouraged Count Lowendahl to take the resolution of storming the breaches : though the governor so little apprehended such an attempt, that he had not taken a single precaution against it. Count Lowendahl, on the evening of the 15th, made the necessary dispositions to mount to the assault : he committed the care of the trenches to fourteen companies of grenadiers, thirteen battalions, 100 volunteers, and 900 labourers, that they might be ready to open them at break of day : six companies of grenadiers, sustained by as many battalions, with 300 labourers, three brigades of sappers, each brigade consisting of eight men, twenty cannoneers, and twenty workmen, were nominated, at the same time, for the attack of the bastion of Pucelle ; a like number were disposed for that of Coehorn ; and two companies of grenadiers, preceded by 200 volunteers, and sustained by one battalion, two auxiliary companies, with 300 labourers, were destined for the attack on the ravelin of Dedem. All these troops had a signal appointed, by four o'clock in the morning of the 16th, by two salvos from their mortars, which poured a terrible quantity of bombs all at once into the ravelin of Dedem ; and, as soon as these had their effect, the besiegers threw themselves into the fosse ; coming on with the greatest impetuosity

to make the assault at the breach : two companies of grenadiers, who were a reserve at the gorge of the ravelin, mounted it immediately to assist the troops that were in the ravelin ; the first of these companies was soon put into disorder ; the second made its utmost efforts, but, being over-powered with numbers, was obliged to retire : the French immediately forced open the sally port of Fallenius, mounted the four breaches in the bastions of Pucelle and Coehorn, where they forced the intrenchments, drove the garrison from their posts, spread themselves from right to left upon the curtains, formed in order of battle, and came down into the town before the body of the garrison could be assembled. Baron Cronstrom, instead of attending to the preservation of the place, was slumbering out the indolence of age quietly in his quarters ; where the regiment of Deurtz made some opposition, till the Prince of Hesse Philipsthal came up with as many as he could gather in the confusion, which were principally highlanders commanded by Lord John Murray, who fought like lions in defence of the Dutch, by which they favoured the escape of General Cronstrom, whose quarters were then surrounded by the French, and by which they sufficiently manifested, that the vulgar unpolished highlander, if not misled, is both equally brave and faithful. As soon as the French came down into the town, they were posted in the avenues of the great square towards the Steenberg street ; from whence, as soon as a certain number were got together, they were immediately sent, in a large column, into the square, where the Scotch highlanders made a resolute defence ; but, in the midst of their bravery, they were unsupported

by the Dutch, who got to the Steenberg gate, and abandoned the town in the utmost confusion, as also did the army in the lines, leaving the unfortunate inhabitants to the fury of the soldiery. The French were now absolute masters of the place, a general plunder ensued, and most of the private assailants were amply rewarded for their bravery: the military chests of the regiments in garrison, the silver plate and strong boxes of Baron Cronstrom, the Prince of Hesse Philipsthal, the Prince of Anhalt, Lieutenant-General Lely, Major-General Thierry, and the other principal officers, fell a prize to the victorious French, who also enriched themselves with the baggage of the princes, generals, and other officers, as well as with the stores, and valuable effects of the inhabitants: the rout of the body of troops encamped in the lines was so complete, that their whole camp was pillaged; and many of the battalions left their arms behind them, in the places where they were deposited: the French did not lose above 300 men in the assault, though they killed 400, and took 1,600 prisoners in the town, among whom was Major-General Lewe, who was indisposed, and could not join in the flight: the Dutch lost about 3,000 men in the town, and the lines, since the commencement of the siege, which cost the French upwards of 20,000 men before they could ravish this virgin fortress out of the hands of the Dutch.

COUNT LOWENDAHL, immediately on obtaining this important acquiescence, sent intelligence of it to the French monarch; who was so overjoyed at such an unexpected accident, that he instantly declared the subduer of Bergen-op-Zoom a Marshal of France, and ordered *te deum* to be

be sung for it throughout all his dominions. CHAP.
Count Lowendahl also wrote an account of his success to the secretary of war, wherein he ac- III.

quainted him " That he could not but laugh 1747.

" at the accounts with which the Dutch and
" English gazetteers had filled their writings;
" two nations so wholly mercantile and accus-
" tomed to trade, that they thought powder
" and ball, sieges and battles, were transacted
" on the exchanges of London and Amsterdam:
" that they adapted their ideas ever to pecuni-
" ary motives; though he could wish he had
" found the Dutch generals in the mercantile
" way, but he could absolve them of any stain
" of that nature; it would have saved the brav-
" est army in the universe, two months unheard
" of fatigues and dangers: for it was wholly
" owing to the brave grenadiers of France,
" headed by the gallantest officers, an engineer-
" general in whose praise no pen or tongue
" could speak enough; it was owing to the wise
" principles of mathematics, deduced into prac-
" tice, where he had the pleasure of seeing all
" the theory of Vauban, and Coehorn, resolved
" into corollary and demonstration." But, not-
withstanding this commendation of the Dutch
governor, it was strongly apprehended, that, if
the place was not betrayed, it certainly was sur-
prized; especially as Marshal Lowendahl, after
he was in possession of it, confessed that an assault
was impracticable, and the place, according
to the rules of war, impregnable: it was ap-
parent that if Baron Cronstrom did not con-
sue at the assault, he did not foresee it, neither
did he provide for it; he had but 3,000 men
in the town when it was taken, and if he ap-
prehended an assault he might have had 10,000

PART from the lines; besides, he had made no pre-

IX. paration, had given no orders for the letting the

water into the ditch, though he very well knew

1747. that the cavette, or drain, in the middle of it,

was entirely choaked by the rubbish of the

works; to which may be added, that when the ra-

velin of Dedem was lost, the Dutch never thought

of discharging the batteries upon the lower flanks,

or the masked pieces of cannon that were dis-

posed on purpose to clear the ditch, which they

might have done, and which it was natural for

them to do; nor did they touch the sluice,

though it was all the while in their power, and

which would have let seven feet water in, within

the space of as many minutes: there is still ano-

ther reason to suspect the treachery of the Dutch,

and this is from another part of the same letter

wrote by Marshal Lowendahl to the secretary of

war, wherein he informed him, "That when

"the, tremendous artillery of his majesty had

"rendered it impossible to live within 1,000

"paces of the chemin covert, and the place was

"filled with 10,000 men, the French troops

"could have cut off the whole garrison if they

"pleased; but the officers, with a generosity

"peculiar to the French nobility, restrained the

"heated soldiers, by crying *no bad blood! no*

"*cruelty!* and let them generously escape,

"though they could have put them to the

"sword."

THE importance of this conquest secured to

the French the whole coast of the Scheld; es-

pecially as the forts Rover, Moremont, and

Pinsen, demanded to capitulate, and the garri-

sons were made prisoners of war, as well as that

of the south fort, or Waterschans; besides which

Fort Frederic Henry surrendered, as also did

Lillo,

Lillo, after they were defended for seven days each, the garrison of the latter retreating to Cruys Schans, where Major General Thierry, with 800 men, surrendered prisoners of war.

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DURING the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, the French army, under Marshal Saxe, fired their camp, at Tongres, marched to St Tron, and continued their rout by Tirlemont to Louvain; though the French monarch, immediately on hearing of the reduction of Bergen-op-Zoom, set out for Versailles, having constituted Marshal Saxe Governor of the conquered Netherlands, and rewarded Count Lowendahl with a marshal's staff; but his majesty did not enter Paris, which was prepared to receive its elated monarch in triumph, whose arms had been more successful in three years, than those of Lewis the Great had been in thirty; because England wanted her Marlborough, while France had her Saxe. The confederate army being reinforced by 4,000 additional troops of the Hanoverian forces, lately taken into the British pay, quitted their camp by Maestricht, to observe the motions of Marshal Saxe, and march down towards the right of the Demer; where the French gave them some little alarms, after which both armies retired into winter quarters; the French taking up their cantonments in the conquered provinces, the English, Dutch, and Hanoverians in the neighbourhood of Breda, and the Imperialists betwixt the Maese and the Rhine; upon which the Duke of Cumberland returned to London, where he arrived on the 13th of November. Thus terminated the campaign, of 1747, on the side of the Netherlands; a campaign truly glorious to the French, prejudicial to all the confederates, and particularly inglorious to the Dutch; there was

PART not one single town remaining of the Austrian
IX. Netherlands unreduced, and only Maestricht to
 cover the interior barrier of Holland : on the
 1747. side of Dutch Flanders, the lillies of France
 were waving triumphant over the head of the
 Belgian lion ; and Bergen-op-Zoom, the maid-
 en fortress, which had never till now been vio-
 lated, was prostituted to the lust of France ; not-
 withstanding the Dutch governor declared, at
 the commencement of the siege, that Bergen-
 op-Zoom was a virgin, and she should die like
 the daughter of the brave old Roman, Virginius,
 before she should be polluted by the faithless
 Gaul. From this unsuccessful exertion of her
 military strength, conjoined to that of her allies,
 Britain became sensible that the ocean was her
 proper province, where she could ride in abso-
 lute sovereignty ; this was confirmed by the na-
 val victories she was obtaining, while France was
 subduing the proper towns of the Dutch ; this
 was what Britain could continue to do against her
 maritime opponents ; and this was the proper
 scene of action for her, to reduce the house of
 Bourbon to such a mediocrity of power, as was
 consistent with the liberties of the rest of Eu-
 rope.



CHAPTER IV.

The campaign in LOMBARDY and GENOA. The reduction of NICE, MONTALBAN, VILLA FRANCA, and VENTIMIGLIA, by Marshal BELLEISLE. The return of the AUSTRIANS into the territories of the GENOESE; the siege of GENOA; the second retreat of the AUSTRIANS, from that capital; and the invasion of the PLAISANTIN, by the GENOESE. The attempt of the FRENCH to penetrate into PIEDMONT; the battle of EXILLES; and the further operations, of both armies, to the conclusion of the campaign.

THE Austrians, under Count Brown, having retreated out of Provence, extended themselves in Piedmont during the winter; while Marshal Belleisle was receiving continual

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PART reinforcements, to enable him to penetrate into
IX. the county of Nice, and march to the relief of

Genoa, which the Austrians were endeavouring
1747. to recover. The army, to be commanded by
Marshal Belleisle, was to consist of 60,000 men,
including 8,000 Spaniards from Savoy; but
as they could not be speedily assembled, the
marshal turned his attention towards assisting
the city of Genoa, by sending over several de-
tachments, in such small vessels, as might escape
the vigilance of the British squadron; he also
employed a part of his army in reducing the
islands of St Margaret and St Honorat, which
he retook, making the garrisons, consisting of
500 men, prisoners of war; and then, being
joined by all his reinforcements, marched to-
wards the Var, which he passed, on the 12th
of April, without any interruption. The Aus-
trian general, had collected his forces in the
neighbourhood of Ventimiglia; but, as the
15,000 Piedmontese were to be employed in the
recovery of Genoa, the remaining Austrians
consisted only of 28,000 men, which were too
inconsiderable to make any opposition against
the French, who took possession of Nice with-
out resistance; Montalban held out but a day;
Villa Franca not a week; and Ventimiglia was
abandoned on the approach of the French. The
Austrians retired towards Final and Savona,
which were in the possession of his Sardinian Ma-
jesty; from whence General Brown sent intelli-
gence to that monarch, at Turin, that it was
absolutely necessary to recall the forces before
Genoa, to cover Piedmont and Lombardy; the
siege was accordingly raised; this was all that
Marshal Belleisle wanted on that side, and he no
sooner succeeded in this important point, but he
pro-

projected an invasion into Piedmont, in concert CHAP.
with his brother the chevalier, who was to enter IV.
that country on the side of Dauphine, and the
armies were to join in the valley of Stura near
Coni. 1747.

WHILE the French and Spaniards were intent on penetrating into Piedmont, the Austrians were preparing to pierce through the passages of the Bochetta, and obtain the repossession of Genoa: but the court of Versailles was equally vigilant in protecting the republic, by sending them reinforcements and supplies; and, to encourage the state in a perseverant behaviour against the Austrians, the French monarch sent the Duke de Boufflers, in the quality of ambassador to the republic, and to act as commander in chief of the forces to be employed for its defence; who, on the 20th of March, was introduced to the doge and senate; whom he addressed in the following manner:

Serene Prince! Most excellent Lords,

“THE most powerful monarch of Europe,
“and, what is not the least title, the most
“faithful to his engagements, has sent me to
“participate with you in your labour, and in
“your glory.

“HE has ordered me to declare to you, that
“he is resolved, whatever it may cost him, to
“restore to this generous and unfortunate re-
“public, the splendor and independance which
“the most barbarous nations would blush in an
“attempt to deprive you of.

“IN your misfortune, I cannot help think-
“ing it a great advantage, that the most ho-
“nourable part of you have adhered to sound
“policy: indeed, if your enemies should pro-
“pose

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“ pose the most specious capitulation to you,
 “ what confidence can you place in a power so
 “ determined to enslave you, as the court of
 “ Vienna seems to be? It has destroyed your
 “ fortunes, it has attempted to reduce you to
 “ the vilest slavery; by the mouth even of its
 “ general, it has threatened your citizens with
 “ the most infamous punishment; but it has not
 “ yet been in its power to rob you either of your
 “ honour or your liberty: these inestimable
 “ things, a thousand times more precious than
 “ life itself, you are still possessed of. It is to
 “ yourselves that you owe this happy revolution,
 “ which has been effected without, and even
 “ prevented, the succours of your allies. It is
 “ your present actions, illustrious republic!
 “ which render you the emulation of that an-
 “ cient Rome, of that senate, the courage of
 “ whom the presence of Hannibal, and even
 “ of a victorious army, then under the walls of
 “ that city, could not abate.

“ NEVER lose sight, therefore, of your real
 “ interests; on the one hand you see shame
 “ and slavery, on the other glory and liberty.

“ ABOVE all things, never cease to hope in
 “ providence, which always detested tyranny:
 “ the wonderful things it has done for you, have
 “ too strongly the mark of divinity upon them,
 “ for you not to second them with your utmost
 “ efforts.

“ TIME is precious, let us not employ it in
 “ vain deliberations: let one spirit animate us:
 “ in short, most excellent lords, vouchsafe to put
 “ confidence in one who has your liberty more
 “ at heart than any man on earth.

“ I SHALL be the better Frenchman in be-
 “ coming the most zealous of your citizens.

“ Shew

“ Shew me your danger, my duty is to en- CHAP.
“ counter it ; I will make it the utmost of my IV.
“ glory to secure you from it.”

To which the doge made the following reply : 1747.

“ THE sentiments your excellency deliver-
“ ed to our republic, in the name of the
“ most Christian King, have entirely crazed
“ the remembrance of her past misfortunes,
“ and sweetened the bitterness of our pre-
“ sent situation. We now look on our coun-
“ try as in a state of perfect security,
“ through the interest of monarchs, as great in
“ their power, as in the exact accomplishing
“ their promises.

“ THE republic now heartily rejoices in hav-
“ ing fulfilled her engagements with invincible
“ steadiness : the disgraces she has laboured un-
“ der, have only served to augment her cou-
“ rage, and redouble her constancy.

“ INTREPID in the most fatal calamities, she
“ has been, and is still ready to sacrifice all for
“ the preservation of her liberty ; and more-
“ over, if her efforts can once open the way to
“ the invincible arms of his Christian Majesty,
“ to accelerate the generous effects of his mag-
“ nanimous intentions, the republic will never
“ cease to find out the most acceptable methods
“ of expressing her infinite gratitude to him,
“ who put her in a condition of doing so.

“ THE arrival of your excellency is to us an
“ happy epocha ; a proof of which sufficiently
“ appears in the singular demonstrations of pub-
“ lic joy. Your hereditary and personal quali-
“ ties are blazoned through the world ; but the
“ greatest elogium is, the share you possess in
“ the affections of a monarch of the deepest pe-
“ netration in matter of merit : his majesty
“ could

PART " could not have given our republic a more evident token of his good-will, than in sending
 IX. " a person so valuable amongst us.

1747. " IF the love of liberty only made us first attempt to drive the enemy hence, we have
 " now many other reasons for continuing, and
 " gloriously finishing this enterprize, succoured
 " so efficaciously by a powerful monarch, and
 " assisted by a lord who so worthily represents
 " him.

" I DOUBT not but your excellency will take
 " the first opportunity, of assuring his majesty,
 " of the force and sincerity of these sentiments,
 " which are those of the nation.

" I HAVE the honour to assure you, in the
 " name of all the Genoese, that their actions
 " will answer every thing that has been said on
 " all occasions."

THE republic had received two millions of livres from France; they published an edict declaring the capitulation, whereby the city was surrendered to the Marquis de Botta, void, as being made without consent of all the classes of the people; every thing was preparing to give the Austrians a vigorous reception; some of the young nobility put themselves at the head of the armed inhabitants, and many others sent such considerable sums of money to the military chest, as plainly demonstrated that it would have been no difficult matter to have discharged the sums due to her Imperial Majesty by the capitulation, had they been seriously inclined to it: however, so many of the principal families continued to embark for Leghorn, and other places, that above 13,000 people had left the city. The peasants of the eastern Riviera unanimously resolved to hazard all for the defence of the state, and each
 com-

community drafted a number of men, who, as CHAP.
fast as drafted, were sent to the capital: in the IV.
mean time, the Marquis de Pallavicini, the Au-
strian commissary general in Lombardy, re- 1747.
ceived orders to sequester all the estates and ef-
fects of the Genoese nobility and others, in the
Milanese, Mantuan, and elsewhere in the Aus-
trian districts; and also strictly to confine the
four nobles, whom the republic had sent to Mi-
lan, as hostages for their observation of the ar-
ticles of capitulation: so that nothing but the
strongest denotations were to be seen of invete-
racy on one side, and obstinacy on the other.
The Austrian army was assembling under the com-
mand of Count Schuylemberg, who succeeded the
Marquis de Botta, on the southern borders of
Milan, with an intention of penetrating into the
Bochetta; which was strongly guarded by the
peasants of Polsevera: several attacks were made
by the Austrian irregulars, from the 4th of Ja-
nuary to the 13th, to force the passage of the
Bochetta, when the Croats succeeded, and
intrenched themselves at Pietro Lavezzaro;
where they continued till the whole army was
advanced from the Milanese. The Austrian ir-
regulars made frequent invasions upon the inha-
bitants of the Polsevera: among others, a de-
tachment presenting itself before Voltri, the heads
of the community submitted, and promised,
for themselves and the inhabitants, to remain
quiet; upon which 80 men were left to quarter
there: some days after, under pretence of exac-
tions committed by this detachment, the inha-
bitants, joined by 800 peasants, fell upon, and mas-
sacred these eighty men; but, in revenge, a large
body of Croats forced the town, after some re-
sistance,

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assistance, plundered it of all that was portable, and destroyed the rest. Sestri de Ponente, and Monte Chio, underwent the same treatment, for the same reason; with this aggravation, that, in the former of these towns, the Austrians were treated in a more barbarous manner, and some of them buried alive: in short, both sides were so exasperated that no quarter was given, and that part of the Riviera was nothing but a scene of desolation and barbarities.

THE operations of General Schuylemberg were retarded, for a considerable time, by the severity of the weather, and badness of the roads: he had received his expected reinforcements, with a good train of artillery; he found himself at the head of 25,000 Austrians, and 15,000 Piedmontese, with which he entered the Bochetta, and advanced towards the city, making himself master of all the little places by the way, with some loss, as the inhabitants defended several posts with great obstinacy. The approach of General Schuylemberg caused a great consternation in the city of Genoa; all the shops were shut, general processions were made to implore the divine protection, every person capable of carrying arms was obliged to serve and march out to the defence of the suburbs and advanced posts, while the priests and friars mounted guard at the gates within: from whence it was generally apprehended, that the reduction of Genoa would be a work of more difficulty than the Austrians expected.

COUNT SCHUYLEMBERG arrived before the city of Genoa, on the 31st of March, on the side of St Peter d'Arena; from whence, before coming to extremities, he made propositions to the revolvers, " That if they would lay down  
" their

“ their arms, and submit to the clemency of CHAP.  
“ the empress queen, without demanding the IV.  
“ guaranty of their Britannic and Sardinian ma-  
“ jesties, the Republic would have better terms 1747.  
“ than it could reasonably expect by capitula-  
“ tion, or by way of arms.” But the answer of  
“ the republic was, “ That they had already too  
“ severely felt the effects of Austrian clemency :  
“ if the general had, as they were told to inti-  
“ midate them, 30,000 choice troops, with a  
“ large train of artillery, ready to make them  
“ feel the resentment of her Imperial majesty,  
“ the republic had 54,000 men in arms, 9,000  
“ of them regular troops, 260 cannon, and 34  
“ mortars, with abundance of ammunition and  
“ provisions ; and, what was more, they were  
“ determined to defend the city, and preserve  
“ their liberty, to the last drop of their blood ;  
“ for it was their unanimous resolution to be  
“ buried in the ruins of their capital, rather  
“ than ask for quarter, and submit to the cle-  
“ mency of the court of Vienna, unless they  
“ could gain it by an honourable capitulation,  
“ well guarantied by their Britannic and Sar-  
“ dinian majesties, in conjunction with the Re-  
“ publics of Venice and the United Provinces.”  
Notwithstanding this resolute answer, their chief  
dependance was on succours from France, which  
were daily expected : these succours consisted of  
5,000 men, who sailed from Toulon, on the 6th  
of April, in forty transports, under convoy of a  
xebec and a frigate, for the relief of Genoa :  
the next day, about the distance of Cape del  
Melle, and somewhat to the eastward of Oneg-  
lia, they were separated by a strong easterly  
wind ; in which dispersion ten of them, having  
1,100 soldiers on board, were taken by a part of  
the



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the British squadron, then cruising to intercept this embarkation; six sail took shelter at Monaco, some at Antibes, and the remainder arrived at Genoa; where the others, that escaped from the men of war, found an opportunity of making their arrival, while the weather prevented the British ships from keeping their stations.

THE Austrians were incapable of making any expeditious progress in the attack of Genoa, for want of heavy artillery, which was extremely difficult to be conveyed through so rugged a country, where the roads were rendered almost impassable for large carriages: the Genoese were every day streightened more and more by the Austrians, who proceeded very cautiously, as it would be their entire ruin if they should be defeated; but another body of 15,000 Imperialists, proceeded, through Tuscany, into the eastern Riviera, to cut off all supplies from that quarter, and intercept the succours expected from Naples.

THE Imperial artillery being arrived before the city of Genoa, which was closely invested, General Schuylemberg, on the 9th of May, attacked the important post of the Capuchins near Boschetto, and took it, after three hours resistance, with the loss of 600 men on his side, and 460 on the Genoese. The next day, the Duke de Boufflers, at the head of all the regular troops, with a considerable number of peasants, burghers, and domestics, made a general sally; and, attacking the besiegers, with the utmost fury, drove them from the post, and all the redoubts belonging to it: but the Austrians rallying, and receiving reinforcements from General Schuylemberg, who visited every post in person, bravely recovered all they had lost; and, after  
an

an obstinate engagement of four hours, pushed the besieged into the town, with the loss of 700 men killed, and 160 taken prisoners; the Marquis du Fay, a French colonel, being among the former; and the Marquis Grimaldi, a noble Genoese, being among the latter. On the 17th, the Genoese garrison of the castle of Massone, consisting of 173 men, and thirteen officers, among them the Marquis Doria, and M. Sauli, surrendered at discretion: this success induced the Imperial General to turn his attention towards the Bisagno, or eastern suburb, where he was determined to proceed at the head of one half of his army, while the other half continued on the side of St Peter d'Arena, under Lieutenant-General Rocque, to amuse the besieged. General Schuylemberg gave the highest proofs of his courage and conduct in this expedition; he marched with all imaginable secrecy and celerity round the northern part of the city; and arrived in the Bisagno, on the 1st of June. The Genoese had all their attention upon the Austrians and Piedmontese, commanded by Lieutenant-General Rocque, who made several feigned attacks upon the suburbs of St Peter d'Arena: this gave General Schuylemberg an opportunity of immediately attacking the Bisagno, with 15,000 men, in three columns, who carried the first posts, occupied by the Genoese, with an immaterial contention: however, as they advanced, 1,500 regular troops, under the Spanish Major-General Tobin, made a gallant resistance, but most of them were killed or taken. The Austrians were now in possession of all the advanced posts on the side of the Bisagno, excepting Madona del Monte, and St Francis d'Albano; they were preparing to attack these

PART. places, to facilitate the bombardment of the  
 IX. city, when Count Schuylemberg was obliged to  
 1747. abandon the siege, though contrary to his inclination ; because his Sardinian majesty, and Count Brown, had made such representations of the necessity of relinquishing the attack on Genoa, and of drawing off the army to cover Piedmont and Lombardy from the attempts of Marshal Belleisle, who had already reduced Ventimiglia, and was preparing to march for the relief of Genoa : the Austrians were in great want before the city, where they were ill supplied by the Marquis de Pallavicini, who was afterwards recalled from his government of Milan, and taken into custody, upon that account ; and this was another motive for raising the siege of the city, which was abandoned, by the Austrians, on the 10th of June, who returned into the Milanese, and proceeded to join the army under Count Brown.

THE Genoese, though delivered from the calamities of a siege, found reason to lament the desolation of their country, the destruction of their vines and olives for fuel or fascines, and the ruin of their superb palaces : the formerly delightful prospect of this beautiful city, now afforded a very deplorable scene ; the country was wasted with pillage, the citizens were impoverished, the circulation of the public credit was stagnated, trade was extinct, and commerce prevented ; while those fine villas, the delight of the citizens, and admiration of foreigners, were but so many monuments of the barbarity of the Croats and Waradins. The Genoese, on finding themselves at liberty, immediately projected an enterprize, with the assistance of the French and Spaniards in the city, for the invasion of the  
 Parmesan

Parmesan and Plaisantin, which they entered with 12,000 men, divided into three bodies, on the 12th of July: the first surprized the garrison of Tara; another was repulsed from the castle of Bara, with the loss of 400 men; and the third sacked the estates of the Marquisate of Botta: the Genoese, in spite of the precaution of the Duke de Boufflers, to prevent excesses in the Plaisantin, committed the greatest violences, pillaged the houses and afterwards burnt them, raised extravagant contributions, and carried away many hostages: however, these depredations were of no long continuance, for a body of Austrians intercepted several of their parties, and took 800 prisoners in the castle of Zabaterello, which compelled the invaders to return to Genoa; where they augmented the fortifications on the side of the Bisagno, under the direction of some French engineers; they were also reinforced by some troops from Corsica, where the Marquis Spinola had defeated the Malecontents, headed by the Count Rivarola: though the Genoese had the misfortune to lose the Duke de Boufflers, who died at Genoa, on the 26th of July, and was succeeded in his command by the Duke of Richlieu.

MARSHAL BELLEISLE still continued at Ventimiglia, where he received 10,000 men from Flanders; while his brother, at the head of 28,000 French, and 6,000 Spaniards, was preparing to penetrate into Piedmont through the passages of Dauphine, where he arrived, on the 6th of July, and posted his troops in the most convenient situation for attempting to force the pass of Exilles, a strong fortress on the frontiers of Dauphine and Piedmont, situate on the north side of the river Doria, ten miles W.



PART of Susa, thirty-two N. E. of Fort Dauphine, and  
 IX. twenty-five N. W. of Turin, taken from France,  
 by the Duke of Savoy, in 1708, and confirmed  
 1747. to him by the treaty of Utrecht. His Sardinian  
 majesty was apprized of the enterprize which  
 the Chevalier de Belleisle had undertaken, and  
 took all the necessary precautions for the securi-  
 ty of his frontier; several detachments were  
 posted along all the passages of the Alps, and  
 the post of Exilles was committed to the care of  
 the Count de Briqueras, with ten battalions of  
 Piedmontese, and four of Austrians, who had  
 formed an encampment behind the lines of  
 Exilles.

ON the 8th of July, at two in the morning,  
 the Count de Briqueras, having advice that the  
 French were approaching the heights of Affiette,  
 caused his battalions to enter the intrenchments,  
 where they remained till seven in the morning;  
 but, as they suffered very much by the cold,  
 and the French made no motion towards attack-  
 ing them, they were brought back into the  
 camp: some hours after, the French began to  
 move, and obliged the Piedmontese and Aus-  
 trians to return into the intrenchments; which  
 were immediately attacked by the French, to  
 the number of forty battalions, in three columns,  
 with nine pieces of cannon, four pounders, sup-  
 ported by a reserve of eight other battalions.  
 The Piedmontese intrenchments were not yet  
 furnished with cannon, because it was necessary,  
 in order to bring it up, to cut a way out  
 through the rocks, and there had not been time  
 to finish it: whereas the French could bring up  
 theirs without difficulty, by the way which they  
 came. The attack was begun about eleven o'  
 clock, very briskly, and the French advanced,  
 by

by sap, quite up to the foot of the intrenchment, to beat it down: they made three resolute attacks, but were constantly repulsed, with extraordinary loss; and the firing was reciprocally maintained all the time: it was now drawing towards evening, when the Chevalier de Belleisle, finding his principal attack did not succeed, put himself at the head of the troops, with a resolution of animating his soldiers by the undaunted example of their leader. This valiant general, having taken a pair of colours from one of his officers, went forward himself to place it upon the intrenchment, with all that nobleness of soul, by which the ancient Romans inspired their intimidated legions to action: the musketry made a terrible fire; but the glorious chevalier advanced with the intrepidity of Cæsar, and perished with the bravery of Crassus; he encouraged his exanimated troops, rushed gallantly onwards, and stuck the colours on the intrenchment; where he was wounded, in the arm, by the thrust of a bayonet from one of the Piedmontese Grenadiers; and, at the same time, received two musket shots, one in the head, and the other in the body; which terminated the life of this accomplished man: like the oriental star, he had long illumined the hemisphere of glory; his lustre was now extinct; and every virtue lay weeping by his side: like the great, the learned, the polite Sir Philip Sidney, he possessed every amiable, generous, and noble quality; like him, too, he lived universally beloved; like him died universally regretted: Sidney bathed the dust of Spain with the dearest blood of England; Belleisle dyed the soil of Piedmont with the bravest blood of France. The unfortunate death of their commander disheart-

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**PART** ened the French, they gave way to the fire of  
**IX.** the Piedmontese, and retreated towards Sestrieres, pursued by some companies of Grenadiers, who charged them sword in hand upon  
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the descent of the mountain. Of the fourteen battalions which the Count de Briqueras had in the intrenchments, there were but eight of the Piedmontese, and two of the Austrians, who could, by their situation, have any share in the action; their loss amounted only to 120 men, without any officer of distinction; and this well concerted defence was principally owing to the prudence of the Count de Briqueras, the Generals Alciat and Colloredo, with the Brigadier Martineago: the loss of the French was proportionate to the nature of the attack, they had 4,800 men killed, and 600 wounded; amongst the former was their lamented general, the Chevalier de Belleisle, as likewise the Major-Generals Arnaud, and de Larnage; and the Brigadier de Bergard was wounded and among the prisoners.

**THE** consequences of the defeat at Exilles, was the abandoning of Ventimiglia by Marshal Belleisle, and frustrating all his hopes of penetrating into Piedmont by the way of Ceva: the marshal left a considerable garrison in Ventimiglia, and retreated towards the Var, to join the troops from Exilles, and prevent any invasion upon Dauphine by the King of Sardinia, who was now preparing to take the field. Though his Sardinian majesty had caused all the Austrians to assemble in the neighbourhood of Coni, where they were joined by 25,000 Piedmontese, making together an army of 70,000 men; yet he did not take the field before the latter end of September, when the rainy season

son prevented the operations of the war on the side of Dauphine, and occasioned the return of the Sardinian monarch to Turin, without doing any thing more than detaching twenty battalions, under General Leutrum, to dispossess the French from Ventimiglia ; but this was also prevented by the vigilance of Marshal Belleisle, who returned, with his whole united army, to his former situation, where he made a vigorous and successful effort to re-victual the garrison : after which, the contending armies took up their winter cantonments ; the French and Spaniards extending themselves along the county of Nice ; while the Austrians and Piedmontese separated themselves, the one extending through Piedmont to the borders of Nice, and the other taking up their quarters in the Milanese adjacent to Genoa, which they still threatened with another invasion.

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## SECOND DIVISION.

Naval war in EUROPE, ASIA, and  
AMERICA.



### CHAPTER I.

The naval war in the EUROPEAN seas. The defeat, and capture, of the FRENCH united squadrons, under the Commodores de la JONQUIERE and St GEORGE, off Cape FINISTERRE, by Vice-Admiral ANSON, and Rear-Admiral WARREN. The interception, and capture, of forty-eight sail of the FRENCH St DOMINGO fleet, by Commodore FOX. The defeat, and capture, of the FRENCH squadron, under Commodore DE LETENDUER, by Rear-Admiral HAWKE.

HAWKE. The naval affairs in the MEDITERRANEAN; the disposition of the BRITISH squadrons, for the security of commerce; and the passage of Rear-Admiral BOSCAWEN to the EAST INDIES.



IF the arms of France were attended with almost an uninterrupted success upon the continent, her maritime strength received a violent reduction by a proper exertion of the British navy: the

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French monarch was so entirely captivated with his military achievements in the Netherlands, that the marine of France was neglected, contrary to the sense of the Count de Maurepas the superintendant of it: it was happy for Britain, in the last century, that the military officers sometimes drew off the attention of Lewis XIV. from the commercial schemes of Colbert; and Britain was now equally fortunate, that the Marshals Saxe and Lowendahl so absolutely engrossed the confidence of Lewis XV, as to prevent the Count de Maurepas, who was a good judge of the interest of his country, from having any influence on his sovereign; though he found a continual declension of commerce, and a constant decrease of the royal navy, without any additional spirits for protecting the one, or augmenting the other. In the mean time, the maritime force of Britain was diligently attended to: when the royal navy suffered any diminution the loss was speedily supplied, by putting other ships in commission; the mercantile interest was now strictly observed, and

and different squadrons were sent to reinforce the commanders in the Mediterranean, America, and the East Indies.

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THOUGH the French had made an unsuccessful attempt, in 1744, to reduce Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia; and notwithstanding the fatal termination of the grand enterprize against it, under the direction of the Duke d'Anville; they were still in hopes of obtaining the colony, and, with the assistance of the Canadeans, to prove a troublesome enemy to the British settlements on the northern coast of America, if they could not succeed in the recovery of Cape Breton; and they were also ambitious to add more of the British settlements in the East Indies to their obedience. Accordingly, a force was fitted out, for these purposes, at Brest; the armament destined for America being to be commanded by Monsieur de la Jonquiere; and the force to the East Indies by Monsieur de St George, which were to set out together: but the British government had intelligence of the time they were to sail, and took care to have them intercepted.

THE British squadron, intended to disappoint the measures of the French, was commanded by Vice-Admiral Anson, and Rear-Admiral Warren, consisting of the following ships:

Ships	Commanders	Guns	Men
Prince George	{ Vice-Admiral Anson	90	750
	{ Captain Bentley		
Devonshire	{ Rear-Adm. Warren	66	480
	{ Captain West		
Namur	Boscawen	74	480
Monmouth	Harrison	64	400
Prince Frederic	Norris	64	400
Yarmouth	Brett	64	400
Princess Louisa	Watson	60	400
Defiance	Grenville	60	400
			Ships

# *Engaged in the late General War.*

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Ships		Commanders	Guns	Men
Nottingham		Saumarez	60	400
Pembroke		Fincher	60	400
Windfor		Hanway	60	400
Centurion		Denis	50	300
Falkland		Barradel	50	300
Bristol		Hon. Will. Montague	50	300
Ambuscade		Capt. John Montague	40	250
Falcon Sloop		Gwynn	10	100
Vulcan Fireship		Pattigrew		100

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THIS Squadron departed from Plymouth, on the 9th of April, to cruize off Ushant and Brest, where they continued till the 20th; and then stood to the south west, in order to make Cape Finisterre on the coast of Gallicia; in which situation they lay cruizing till the 3d of May, when, the Cape bearing south east distant twenty-four leagues, the British admiral fell in with the French fleet, consisting of thirty-eight ships, nine of which shortened sail, drawing into a line of battle a-head, and the rest of the fleet stretched to the westward, with all the sail they could set, having six frigates for their convoy; while the French Commodores waited, with a seeming resolution, to engage the British Squadron, and give their convoy an opportunity of escaping; having the following ships to maintain the engagement.

Ships	Commanders	Guns	Men
Le Serieux	M. de la Jonquiere,	66	536
L'Invincible	Chef d'Escadre	74	700
Le Diamant	Hoguhart	56	450
Le Jason	Beccard	52	355
Le Rubis	M'Carty	52	328
Le Gloire	Saleffe	44	330

Ships



*Ships, belonging to the East India Company,  
fitted out as men of war.*

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Ships	Commanders	Guns	Men
L'Apollon	De Santons	30	132
Le Philipert	Cellie	30	170
Le Thetis	Macon	20	100
Le Dartmouth	Penoche	18	50

THE British squadron consisted of fourteen ships of the line, one frigate, one sloop, and one fireship, having 922 guns, and 6,260 men; but the French had only five ships of the line, and five frigates, with no more than 442 guns, and 3,171 men. Vice-Admiral Anson formed his squadron into a line; and, at one in the afternoon, made the signal for the leading ships to lead large: at two the French hawled down their signal for the line; and, as their convoy was now well a head, began to steer off: upon which Vice-Admiral Anson, observing that their aim was to gain time, and endeavour to escape under favour of the night, made the signal for the whole fleet to chase and engage, without any regard to the line of battle. The *Centurion*, having got up with the sternmost ship of the French, about four o'clock in the afternoon, began to engage her; upon which two of the largest French ships bore down to her assistance. The *Namur*, *Defiance*, and *Windsor*, being the next headmost ships, soon entered into action, with five of the French squadron; where they were very warmly engaged on both sides: the *Centurion* soon lost her main-top-mast, which occasioned her to drop a-stern; though Captain Denis used all possible dispatch to come into action again; and the brave Captain Grenville, of the

the *Defiance*, observing how desperate the *Namur* was beset, got on her starboard bow, and took most of the fire of one ship from her. The *Namur*, *Defiance*, and *Windsor*, after having disabled their opponents in such a manner that the British ships a-stern must soon come up with them, made sail a-head to prevent the van of the French from escaping; as did also several other ships of the British fleet: while Rear-Admiral Warren came up with *Commodore de la Jonquiere* in the *Serieux*, and, having received his fire, which was very terrible, ran up within pistol shot, and then returned it, continuing a brisk fire till the *Serieux* struck. Rear-Admiral Warren then made up to *Commodore de St George* in the *Invincible*, who had lost her main-top-mast with the *Namur*: the rear-admiral having given the *Invincible* his broad-side, had the pleasure to see himself seconded, and his blow repeated, by his noble friend Captain Montague, in the *Bristol*; whose broad-side dismasted the *Invincible*, and drove all the men from her guns, who were terrified at the havoc made among them by the respective fires from the *Devonshire* and *Bristol*; however, they gave the *Bristol* their whole musketry fore and aft, and dropt astern. While the *Namur*, *Defiance*, *Windsor*, *Yarmouth*, *Pembroke*, and *Devonshire*, were engaging some of the French, and pursuing the others, Vice-Admiral Anson made up to the *Invincible*, and going to fire into her, all the French ships in the rear struck their colours between six and seven o'clock, as did all those which were in the line before night, the *Diamant* being the last that submitted, after maintaining an engagement with the *Bristol*, within pistol shot, for almost three hours, when

Captain

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Captain Montague found her poop and quarter deck, like a slaughter-house, covered over with blood. Vice-Admiral Anson brought to at seven, having detached the Monmouth, Yarmouth, and Nottingham, to pursue the convoy, who then bore west by south at about four or five leagues distance, being followed by the Falcon sloop all the time of the engagement, whose captain was ordered to make signals for a guidance to the other ships, by which means the Vigilante and Modeste of twenty-two guns each, with the Dartmouth, formerly a British privateer, of eighteen guns, and fifty men, were taken, being the only East India ships that flew from the engagement, as well as six others of the convoy, all the rest escaping under cover of the night. The French behaved extremely well; but the English sailors far excelled them both in discipline and firing; and, as only eight English ships were engaged, the superiority was not very considerable: most of the British ships suffered in their masts and rigging, and lost about 520 men killed and wounded; the French also lost about 700 men killed and wounded: but the greatest loss among the conquerors was the death of Captain Grenville, of the Defiance, who was an excellent officer, regretted by the whole fleet, lamented by his admiral, and deplored by his king and country; he was not only an honour to his illustrious family, not only a glory to his nation, but an ornament to human nature; whose unhappy fate awakened the brightest muse of Britain, to bathe his urn with the tributary tear of friendship, painting out his virtues in all the tender flow of elegiac sorrow; and whose worth is perpetuated on a pedestal, erected to his memory, in the beautiful gardens belonging

to Lord Cobham, at Stowe, where none but the noblest, bravest, and the wisest of mankind, have been selected for the ornaments of these consecrated walks of wisdom. Captain Boscawen, of the *Namur*, was wounded in the shoulder, with a musket ball; but no other officer of the British fleet was hurt: M. de la Jonquiere, the French Chef d'Escadre, was shot under the blade bones of both his shoulders; one of his captains was killed, and another lost his leg.

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THE French fleet was to have separated, in a day or two, when the *Invincible* and *Jafon* were to have proceeded to the East Indies, with the trade and storeships; the other ships being bound for Canada, with soldiers and stores, to enable the inhabitants to re-take Cape Breton, and conquer Annapolis: fortunately for the British nation they were again disappointed; the arms of Britain were now more fatal to the French, than the seas and winds had been in the preceding year; and the victorious fleet conducted their noble prizes to Portsmouth, with all the joy attendant on triumphal glory: where the very bullion, taken in the French fleet, amounted to 7*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* for the share of every private man; 38*l.* 4*s.* to every petty officer; 133*l.* to every officer; and 293*l.* to every lieutenant. Vice-Admiral Anson immediately proceeded to London, where he waited on the king, on the 19th of May, when his majesty was pleased to say, "Sir, you have done me a great service: I thank you; and desire you to thank, in my name, all the officers and private men, for their bravery, and conduct, with which I am well pleased:" and, on the 27th, the money taken on board the French fleet, was brought through the city of London in twenty waggons,



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waggons, guarded by marines, and lodged in the bank. As this was a very fatal blow to the French, it occasioned an inexpressible joy among the British subjects, who applauded the justice of their monarch in rewarding the merit of his officers: Vice-Admiral Anson was created a peer, by the title of Lord Anson, Baron of Soberton, in the county of Southampton; and Rear-Admiral Warren was invested with the order of the Bath, whose star never beamed over a nobler heart, and whose garter never incircled a more generous breast: these honours were soon followed by a general promotion in the navy, when Sir Chaloner Ogle, James Steuart, Esq; and the Honourable George Clinton, Esq; were appointed admirals of the white; William Rowley, William Martin, and Isaac Townshend, Esqrs; admirals of the blue: Henry Medley, Esq; Lord Vere Beauclerk, and Lord Anson, vice-admirals of the red; Perry Mayne, Esq; and Sir Peter Warren, Knight of the Bath, vice-admirals of the white; John Byng, Esq; vice-admiral of the blue: Henry Osborn, Thomas Smith, and Thomas Griffin, Esqrs; rear-admirals of the red; Edward Hawke, William Chambers, and Charles Knowles, Esqrs; rear-admirals of the white; and the Honourable John Forbes, and the Honourable Edward Boscawen, Esqrs; rear-admirals of the blue.

THE British ministry also received intelligence, that a large sail of French merchantmen, from Domingo, were preparing to sail for Europe, under convoy of four men of war: this information was received much about the same time as the other, relating to the sailing of M. de la Jonquiere, and M. de St George; and it was equally attended to: for the lords of the admiralty

ralty, ordered the Kent and Hampton Court of seventy guns, the Eagle and Lion, of sixty, the Chester of fifty, the Hector of forty-four, with the Pluto and Dolphin fireships, to proceed immediately to sea, under the command of Captain Fox, in the Kent; who, on the 20th of April, arrived upon his cruizing station off the bay of Biscay, where he continued his cruize, between Ushant and Cape Finisterre, for the interception of the Domingo Fleet. On the 20th of June, at four in the morning, the British squadron began to descry the French, being then in the latitude of forty-seven deg. eighteen min. north, Cape Ortegal in Galicia, the most northern promontory in Spain, bearing S. E. distant 146 leagues; this homeward bound St Domingo fleet consisting of 170 sail, under the convoy of Commodore de la Motte, with the Magnanime of seventy-four guns, the Alcide of sixty-four, the Arc en Ciel of fifty-eight, and the Zephyre of thirty-six. The French were at windward, the wind at N. N. E. the British squadron chased them the whole day, and at night the French men of war bore off the Kent N. N. E. about two leagues. The British ships being foul and sickly, by the long continuance of their cruize, could not gain upon the French men of war, on the 21st, from eleven o' clock till five in the afternoon, with all sails set, though the French were under their topsails and fore-sails; but, about a quarter after five, the French commodore, finding the English approaching very near him, ordered the men of war to set their main-sails and top-gallant-sails, and went away, without making any signal, either by light or gun, escaping in the night, and abandoning his convoy; which was a conduct entirely

PART tirely contrary to that of Commodore Conflans,  
 IX. in the preceding year, who attacked the British  
 { squadron sent to intercept him, and, by a shew  
 1747. of resistance, protected all his convoy. On the  
 22d of June, there being but very little wind,  
 the British ships pursued the French merchant  
 ships, which had separated, and took several;  
 but on the 23d, the wind blew fresh in the south  
 west quarters, with very thick weather, and  
 prevented the British ships from overtaking  
 them: however, the Advice of fifty guns, com-  
 manded by Captain Haddock, being a clean  
 ship, and cruizing in the Soundings, fell in with,  
 and took several of them. The Kent took five  
 of the French merchantmen, the Hampton  
 Court five, the Eagle six, the Lion nine, the  
 Chester four, the Hector and Dolphin fireship  
 four, and the Advice eight, which they conducted  
 to Plymouth: besides these, five others were  
 taken by a squadron, commanded by Sir Peter  
 Warren, which sailed from Plymouth, on the  
 6th of June, to intercept what might escape  
 Commodore Fox: the whole number of prizes  
 being forty-six, having 1,248 sailors on board,  
 with a very valuable cargo of sugar, indigo,  
 cotton, coffee, and hides, of which all their  
 ladings consisted. The French men of war ar-  
 rived at Brest on the 26th of June; and the  
 rest of the merchantmen also got into Brest,  
 Nantz, and other ports; having escaped Admi-  
 ral Warren; who returned to Plymouth on the  
 1st of August.

THE lords commissioners of the British ad-  
 miralty, having also received information that a  
 very large fleet of merchant ships, bound from  
 the ports of France to the West Indies, were  
 collecting together at the isle of Aix, and that a  
 strong

strong Squadron of ships of war had sailed from CHAP. Brest to escort them ; they made the necessary I. preparations to intercept them ; and, immediately on the return of Sir Peter Warren and 1747. Captain Fox, a Fleet was ordered out from Plymouth, on this destination, under the command of Rear-Admiral Hawke, consisting of the following ships :

Ships		Commanders	Guns	Men
Devonshire	{	Rear-Adm. Hawke	66	550
		Capt. Moore		
Kent		Fox	64	480
Edinburgh		Cotes	70	480
Yarmouth		Saunders	64	500
Monmouth		Harrison	70	480
Princess Louisa		Watson	60	400
Windfor		Hanway	60	400
Lyon		Scot	60	400
Tilbury		Harland	60	400
Nottingham		Saumarez	60	400
Defiance		Bentley	60	400
Eagle		Rodney	60	400
Gloucester		Durell	50	300
Portland		Stevens	50	300
Total			854	5,890

THE above fleet set sail from Plymouth, on the 9th of August, and continued cruising off the coast of Britany, in expectation of intercepting the French, who had assembled 252 merchant ships at the isle of Aix, under convoy of the following men of war :

Ships		Commanders	Guns	Men
Le Tonant	{	M. de Letenduer	80	822
		Chef d'Escadre		
L'Intrepide		Count de Vnaudreuil	74	686
Le Terrible		Count Dugue	74	686
Le Monarque		M. de Bedoyerre	74	686
Le Neptune		M. Fromentierre	70	686
Le Trident		M. Demblimont	64	650
Le Fougeux		M. Duvigneau	64	650
Le Severn		M. Durouret	56	550
Total			556	5,416



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THE French commander had also another ship, called the *Content*, of sixty guns, and 500 men, belonging to the East India company, and many frigates from thirty-six guns downwards: the men of war, and merchantmen, set sail together, from the isle of Aix, on the 6th of October, with an E. N. E. wind, which ceasing, they were obliged to anchor in the road of Rochelle; from whence they sailed, the next morning, directing their course off Rochebone, to get into the latitude of Belleisle, near the southern coast of Britany, where they arrived, on the 10th, and stretched sail from the land.

THE British squadron lay ready to intercept the French, and, on the 14th of October, at seven in the morning, being in latitude forty-seven deg. forty-nine min. N. and longitude from Cape Finisterre one deg. two min. W. the Edinburgh made the signal for seven sail in the S. E. quarter; upon which Rear-Admiral Hawke immediately made the signal for all the fleet to chase: about eight he saw a great number of ships, so crowded that he could not count them; but, at ten, he made a signal for the line of battle a-head. The French commodore, when he first saw the British squadron, in the horizon, making swiftly after him, took them for some of his own fleet; it happening daily, that, in spite of all his vigilance, many ships of the convoy lost company in the night, to sail more at liberty: but, when he discovered what they were, he ordered the signal for the trade to make the best of their way with the *Content* and the frigates; at the same time ordering the signal of battle for the men of war, who formed betwixt the merchantmen and British squadron; the *Intrepide*, *Trident*, and *Terrible*, making the  
van;

van; the Tonant, and Monarque, being in the centre; with the Severn, Fougueux, and Neptune, in the rear: it was of great consequence that this line should form suddenly; but, the preservation of the merchant ships being the principal object, it was necessary to leave intervals; so that before 252 vessels could pass through, a considerable time elapsed, during which the British admiral made his dispositions; though, in the mean time, the French merchantmen being passed, and sailing W. N. W. their men of war tacked and stood with their heads to the S. W. the wind being at S. E.

REAR-ADMIRAL HAWKE now distinctly perceived the French, and observed their merchantmen were crouding away with all the sail they could set, while their ships of war were endeavouring to form in a line a-stern of them, hauling near the wind under their top-sails and fore-sails, and some with top-gallant-sails set: therefore, finding he lost time in forming his line, while the French were standing away, at eleven he made the signal for the whole British Squadron to chase; and, half an hour after, observing his headmost ships to be within a proper distance, he made the signal to engage, which was immediately obeyed. The Lyon, and Princess Louisa, began the engagement, about a quarter of an hour before twelve, passing, amidst a terrible fire, from the rear to the van of the French, in which they were followed by the rest of the ships as they came up; the Lyon, Louisa, Tilbury, Eagle, Windsor, and Yarmouth, behaving with the greatest intrepidity; though the French received them with the utmost bravery. Rear-Admiral Hawke, in passing on to the first ship he could get near, received several

PART IX. fires at a distance, till he came close to the *Severn*, whom he soon silenced, and left to be taken up by the frigates a-stern: then, perceiving the *Eagle*, and *Edinburgh*, somewhat disabled by the *Tonant*, the *Devonshire* kept her wind as close as possible to assist them; but this attempt was frustrated by the *Eagle's* falling twice on board the *Devonshire*, having had her wheel shot to pieces, all the men at it killed, and all her braces and bowlings gone; which drove the rear-admiral to leeward, and prevented his attacking either the *Monarque*, or *Tonant*, within any distance to do execution: however he attempted both, especially the latter; but, while he was engaged with her, the breechings of all the lower deck guns of the *Devonshire* broke, and the guns flew fore and aft, which obliged her to shoot a-head, because her upper and quarter deck guns could not reach the *Tonant*. Captain Harland, in the *Tilbury*, observing that the *Tonant* fired single guns at the *Devonshire*, with a view to dismast her, stood on the other tack between her and the *Devonshire*, and gave her a very smart fire. By the time the new breechings were all seized, on board the *Devonshire*, she was got almost along side the *Trident* of sixty-four guns, which the rear-admiral engaged as soon as possible, and silenced by as brisk a fire as he could make: but just before the rear-admiral attacked her, observing the *Kent*, which seemed to have little or no damage, at some distance a-stern of the *Tonant*, he flung out the signal for Captain Fox to make sail a-head to engage her, as the admiral judged it was in his power to get close up with her, she being somewhat disabled, having lost her main-top-mast: the admiral also,

on

on seeing some of the British ships at that time CHAP.  
not so closely engaged as he could have wished, I.  
and not being well able to distinguish who they   
were, flung out the signal for coming to a close 1747.  
engagement; and, soon after, the Devonshire  
got alongside, within musket-shot, of the Ter-  
rible.

In the mean time, such others of the British ships as had entered into the engagement, were laboriously employed against the vigilance and activity of the French, who seemed determined to sell their liberty at an expensive rate: Captain Saunders, in the Yarmouth, lay two hours and a half closely engaged with the Neptune, who had 100 men killed, 140 wounded, and was almost entirely dismasted, before she struck, which she did about four o' clock: the Monarque, Fougoux, and Severn, surrendered about the same time: the Trident struck, about five, to Admiral Hawke; as also did the Terrible about seven.

DURING the heat of the battle, the Intrepide tacked about towards the Tonant, and passed through the midst of the British ships, firing on both sides: the moment the Intrepide came up with the Tonant, she got under her stern, and they continued fighting together, for half an hour, with five of the British ships that invironed them, and which fell back behind the Intrepide. Captain Saunders, in the Yarmouth, being impatient to see the French admiral, and the Intrepide, getting away, and none of the British ships following them, ardently wished to go after them, and proposed it to Captain Saumarez in the Nottingham, and Captain Rodney in the Eagle, who were within hale, and consented to pursue them: the three British ships came up with the Tonant and Intrepide about eight,



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and engaged them almost an hour; but Captain Saumarez being unfortunately killed, by the first shot from the *Tonant*, the *Nottingham* hauled her wind, which gave the French an opportunity of escaping under favour of the night; when they proceeded to a small port 100 leagues W. of *Ulhant*, where they repaired their battered ships, and returned to *Brest*, having lost upwards of 200 men on board the *Tonant* and *Intrepide*.

REAR-ADMIRAL HAWKE having observed that the *Terrible*, *Monarque*, *Neptune*, *Trident*, *Fougeux*, and *Severn*, had struck, and it being very dark, he thought proper to bring too for that night: as the French ships were large, except the *Severn*, they took a great deal of drubbing, and lost all their masts excepting two, who had their fore-masts left: and as to the escape of the French convoy, it was not possible for Rear-Admiral Hawke to detach any ships after them at first, or during the action, besides the frigates; and that he thought would have been imprudent, as he observed the *Content*, and several other large ships, among them; however, he took a step which seemed the most probable to intercept them, for as soon as he could man and victual the *Weazle* sloop, he detached her with an express to Commodore Legge, who commanded the squadron stationed about the *Leeward Islands*, with information of what had happened. The French had above 800 men killed and wounded, and 3,300 taken prisoners: among the slain was M. Fromentierre, who commanded the *Neptune*; and the French commodore was amongst the wounded, having a bad contusion in the right shoulder, and another in the leg. The English had 154 men killed, and 558 wounded; among the former was the brave Capt. Saumarez, but no other officer of distinction.

tion. The French fought with unusual resolu-  
tion; and their commander publicly reported,  
on his arrival in France, "That a little more  
equality had put him out of danger of in-  
sult: but that they could not think of having,  
till the king should please to furnish the Count  
de Maurepas with the means of re-establish-  
ing the marine upon the footing he desired  
to have it, and till they were a little better  
persuaded in France of the necessity of provid-  
ing a naval power." The British admiral re-  
ported, "That all his commanders, officers,  
and companies, behaved with the greatest  
spirit and resolution, in every respect like  
Englishmen: only he was sorry to acquaint  
the lords of the admiralty, that he must ex-  
cept Capt. Fox, whose conduct, on that day,  
he begged their lordships would give direc-  
tions for enquiring into at a court martial."

REAR-ADMIRAL HAWKE, on the 31st of  
October, arrived with his six prizes at Portf-  
mouth, into which port the whole flower of the  
French navy had been triumphantly conducted  
within the space of five months: Admiral Hawke  
was created a Knight of the Bath for his gallant be-  
haviour: but Capt. Fox was universally censured,  
and a court martial was appointed to examine  
into his conduct, which began, at Portsmouth,  
on the 25th of November, where Sir Peter  
Warren sat as president, assisted by the Rear-  
Admirals Osborn, Forbes, and Chambers,  
with ten captains; the charge against him, read  
by the judge advocate, being, "That he did  
not come properly into the fight, nor do his  
utmost to engage, distress, and endamage  
the enemy, nor assist such ships as did:"  
but the evidence proved, to the satisfaction of  
the

PART the court, " That the Kent engaged the Fou-

IX. " geux three quaters of an hour, within musket

" and pistol shot, till she struck to her; that

1747. " the Kent then shot-a-head, and engaged the

" Tonant for half an hour, till she carried

" away the Tonant's top-mast, when the Kent

" forged a-head, her braces, preventers, and

" hoppers being all shot away:" the trial ended

on the 21st of December, when the court was

of opinion, " That part of the charge was

" proved, that Capt. Fox had been guilty of

" backing his mizen top-sail, and leaving the

" Tonant, contrary to the 10th and 11th ar-

" ticles of war; they, however, acquitted him

" of the charge of cowardice; but, because he

" paid too much regard to the advice of his of-

" ficers, contrary to his better judgment, pass-

" ed sentence that he should be dismissed from

" the present command of the Kent:" this of-

ficer had long served in the navy with unblemish-

ed reputation, his character was soon restored,

and his majesty, in August 1749, promoted him

to the rank of a rear-admiral; while the brave

Admiral Mathews still continued under suspen-

sion, notwithstanding his conduct in the Medi-

terranean had been justified by the late beha-

viour of Vice-Admiral Anson and Rear-Admiral

Hawke, who, both of them, pursued the same

measures, in following a fugitive enemy, with-

out regard to the line of battle.

THE British government were now convinc-

ing the world of their superiority on the ocean;

where, while they were reducing the maritime

force of France, they provided for the security

of their own mercantile interest. Vice-Admi-

ral Medley still continued to command the squa-

dron in the Mediterranean, which consisted of

the

the *Barfleur* of 90 guns; the *Carolina*, Dorset-CHAP.  
shire, Norfolk, *Ruffel*, Somerset, and *Torbay* I.  
of 80; the *Bedford*, Essex, and *Royal Oak*,  
of 70; and the *Dunkirk*, of 60 guns; besides 1747-

frigates; which were augmented, in the beginning of the year, by the *Rupert*, and *Superb*, of 60 guns; the *Colchester*, and *Litchfield*, of 50; and the *Winchelsea* of 20 under the command of Rear-Admiral Byng, who convoyed a large sail of merchantmen for the Straights. Vice-Admiral Medley still blocked up the Spanish squadron in Carthagena; he assisted the Austrian general on the coast of Villa Franca; and endeavoured to intercept the arrival of any succours to the Genoese: neither the French nor Spaniards, ever attempted to make the least opposition against Vice-Admiral Medley, who died on the 5th of August; when the command devolved to Rear-Admiral Byng: but nothing material happened under his direction, exclusive of the interception of several vessels destined for the assistance of the Genoese.

COMMODORE LEGGE, on the 2d of January, set sail from St Helens, in the *Captain* of 70 guns; with the *Sunderland*, and *Dragon* of 60; and the *Rye* of 20; having under his convoy a large fleet of merchant ships for Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands, which met with no interruption in their passage.

On the 12th of August, a fleet of homeward-bound merchantmen, from Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, consisting of eighty-six sail, were convoyed for England by three men of war, and proceeded without any molestation from an enemy; though they met with a violent storm in north latitude 38, 150 leagues from Bermudas, in which the *Lyme* man of war, of  
twenty



PART twenty guns, was overfet, and all her crew, except four, perished; fix of the merchantmen  
 IX. foundered, but the crews were faved; and two  
 1747. others were loft with all their men.

THE trade for North America was alfo fafely convoyed, in the fummer, under the protection of the Warwick of fixty guns, commanded by Capt. Erskine, and the Lark of forty guns, commanded by Capt. Cruikfhanks; who, in their paffage, being off the Western Ifles, on the 14th of July, fell in with the Gloriofo, a Spanifh man of war of 74 guns, and 750 men, which the Warwick engaged for a confiderable time; but, being unaffifted by the Lark, and greatly difabled, Capt. Erskine, with the greateft mortification, faw the Gloriofo efcape; for which Capt. Cruikfhanks was afterwards fufpended by Rear-Admiral Knowles. The Baltic trade was alfo fafely convoyed by the Flamborough man of war, with the Lancafter, Grampus, and Hazard floops; and Rear-Admiral Chambers, with nine men of war, protected the navigation of the channel.

As the French had the fuperiority of fhips in the Eaft Indies, Rear-Admiral Bofcawen was ordered there, with a fquadron of fix fhips of the line, one frigate, a floop, bomb fhip, hofpital fhip, and a tender, having 2,000 marines on board, to reinforce Rear-Admiral Griffin, and return the vifit at Madrafs, by an invafion at Pondicherry; but this fquadron did not depart from Portsmouth till the 1ft of November, when the Rear-Admiral fet fail with fifteen India fhips under his convoy; they arrived at Madeira on the 14th of December, from whence they fet fail on the 26th, and anchored at the Cape of Good Hope on the 28th of March 1748; they

they left the Cape on the 8th of May, and, after making an unsuccessful attempt against the French at the island of Mauritius, 400 miles east of Madagascar, the whole squadron arrived safe at Fort St David on the 29th of July.

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## CHAPTER II.

The naval transactions in the EAST INDIES. The situation of affairs in NORTH AMERICA; and the naval occurrences in the WEST INDIES. An account of the respective captures between the contending powers at sea: the state of the SPANISH, FRENCH, and BRITISH maritime force: with reflections on the nature of insurances, and the disadvantages of insuring the FRENCH ships in ENGLAND.

COMMODORE de la Bourdonnais, after the reduction of Madras, attempted to increase his reputation by the capture of Fort St David; but the arrival of Commodore Griffin

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fin

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fin obliged the French to desist from the enterprize, after the loss of their cannon and baggage. Commodore Griffin took the command from Captain Peyton, and found himself at the head of a formidable squadron, consisting of the York, the Princess Mary, Exeter, and Medway, of sixty guns; the Harwich, Preston, and Winchester, of fifty; the Eltham, Pearl, and Medway's Prize, of forty; and the Lively of twenty guns: the French squadron was also reinforced, and consisted of the Achilles and Centaur of seventy-four guns; the Bourbon and Mars of fifty-six; the Neptune of fifty-four; the Brilliant, and Lacrime of fifty; and the St Louis of four guns; which had been refitted, but were never brought out to encounter the British commodore, though he blocked up Pondicherry, during all the month of August; and, by his dispositions, prevented them from receiving any manner of supplies for a considerable time afterwards: he also burnt the Neptune man of war in Madras road, on the 23d of September; though the French took the Princess Amelia, one of the ships belonging to the East India Company, who put in there, imagining it had been in the possession of the English; for the French kept the British colours flying at Fort St George; and this stratagem had like to have deceived more of the British commanders in the service of the India Company; the Britannia escaped only through the misconduct of the French; the Exeter might have met with the same fate as the Amelia, had she not been forewarned of her danger by a British man of war, who happened to be cruizing off the place, just as she was coming to an anchor; and the Oxford, too, afterwards very fortunately had a person

person on board capable of discoursing in the country-language, and by that means learnt of a Catamaran, who was fishing off the port, that the place was in possession of the French : however, Commodore de la Bourdonnais, in the mean time, quitted the French service, and returned, with the principal part of the plunder of Madraſs, which he had converted into jewels, in a Dutch ship from Batavia for Holland, which was taken by a British privateer, and carried into Falmouth : though his lady, with most of the jewels, arrived in a Portuguese ship at Lisbon ; the commodore was conducted to London in the custody of two messengers ; he was treated with the utmost politeness, and afterwards sent to France, where he suffered a long confinement in the Bastile, on account of a debt of a million of livres to the India Company.

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THE force under Commodore Griffin was insufficient either to reduce Pondicherry, or recover Madraſs : because the French had repaired the fortifications of the former, where they had mounted 180 pieces of heavy cannon, and erected six additional forts to flank the exterior works ; the magazines, and arsenal, were well provided ; and the garrison, with the military Indians, formed a body of 4,500 men : Madraſs was also put into a defensible situation ; and the ministry of Dehli, instead of assisting the English in the repossession of their Indian presidency, professed a neutrality, nor could the Mogul be induced to interfere in the quarrel between the two nations : which occasioned the British commander to relinquish all his expectations of retrieving the potency and character of his country, till the arrival of a proper reinforcement, which was speedily



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PART expected under Rear-Admiral Boscawen, when  
IX. Pondicherry was threatened with a siege.

1747. THE situation of the squadron under Rear-Admiral Knowles at Cape Breton, and the defeat of Monsieur de la Jonquiere by Vice-Admiral Anson, prevented any disturbances in North America from the French; though above 3,000 Canadeans were assembled in Nova Scotia in the spring, waiting for forces from France, to undertake the siege of Annapolis; but, on hearing that the French fleet was defeated, and being in want of provisions, they quitted the province, on the 9th of July, and returned to Canada, after defeating a body of troops, sent from New England to dispossess them of fort Menis. The French, immediately on their return from Nova Scotia, attempted to make an invasion upon Albany, the northern frontier of the province of New York, with 4,000 French and Indians: they were discovered in 300 canoes on the lake of Champaign; upon which Colonel Shuyler marched with his regiment for the defence of Albany, where, with the loss of fifteen men killed, and forty-seven taken prisoners, he obliged the French to abandon their enterprize. On the arrival of Governor Shuyler at Albany, the deputies of the Iroquois, or five Indian nations in alliance with the English, whose country makes a formidable barrier between Canada and New England, sent their deputies to acquaint him, that they had, at the repeated instances of the English, entered into the war against the French, to which they were chiefly induced by the extraordinary preparations for attacking Canada; that they had not been dilatory in annoying the French; but as they were convinced, from the present inactivity of the English, that  
the

the design against Canada was laid aside, and observing the daily diminution of the new levies, they were necessitated to make peace with the French on the best terms they could procure; but if the English would immediately march against the French fort at Crown Point; they would cheerfully assist them with 1,000 of their choicest warriors. The French were very industrious in spiring up the bordering Indians, to commit depredations on the British settlements, who made several wild incursions on the frontiers of New England, retiring with their plunder, and the scalps of several Englishmen, for every one of which the French gave them a reward of 3 l. sterling: they also prevailed upon the Gchedugechroanus, and the Runategwechsuchranus, two strong nations of Indians, who live westward from the lakes, not far from the Mississippi, to take up their hatchet against the English; these Indians assembled a body of 800 men in September, and were on their march to make invasions on Pennsylvania, and the neighbouring provinces; but meeting with the Twigtees, a numerous nation of Indians inhabiting the banks of the river Onabache, who told them, if they attacked the English, the allies of the Iroquois, it would be the same thing as declaring war against those nations; this induced them to return back again, without committing any hostilities: an instance of what importance the friendship of the Iroquois nations was to the English, and the mischiefs that might attend their dissatisfaction at the management of the war, if proper measures were not taken to remove it; and prevent their being won over to the interest of France; of which his Britannic Majesty was so sensible, that he sent them some valuable presents,

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sents, which were delivered to the sachems, or kings, of the five nations, by William Shirley, Esq; the governor of the Massachusetts Company, and George Clinton, Esq; the governor of New York, who were appointed commissioners to treat with the Indians; for which purpose they had an interview with them at Albany, on the 23d of July 1748, when the presents were delivered, and the antient league with the Iroquois nations renewed. Every thing was in the profoundest tranquility on the side of Carolina and Georgia; where the antient league was also renewed with the Creek Indians; who came down to Charles-Town in South Carolina, with their Emperor, two kings, and 100 warriors; when the amicable intercourse, established by General Oglethorpe, with these potent Indians, was perpetuated by the governor.

THE naval war in the West Indies was productive of no material enterprize: The French had a squadron, of six ships of the line, at Martinico, under Commodore McNemarra; the Spaniards had seven ships of the line, at the Havannah, under Vice-Admiral Reggio; and the English had the Cornwall of eighty guns; the Lenox of seventy; the Elizabeth, Plymouth, and Worcester, of sixty; the Milford and Enterprize of forty; the Biddeford of twenty, and the Merlin sloop, under Commodore Dent, at Jamaica; while Commodore Legge was stationed at the Leeward Islands, with the Captain of seventy guns; the Dreadnought, Sunderland, and Dragon of sixty; the Gosport, Sutherland, Mary Galley, and Ludlow Castle of forty; the Centaur and Rye of twenty; with the Porcupine, Richmond, and Saxon sloops, and the Comet bomb: but the French and Spanish squa-

squadrons lay inactive, while Commodore Legge CHAP. intercepted their commerce, and gave security II. to the British navigation; for the Weazle sloop, which had been dispatched, by Rear-Admiral 1747. Hawke, to give Commodore Legge intelligence of the French merchant fleet, that sailed under convoy of Monsieur de Letenduer, arrived at Barbadoes early enough for the commodore to take ten of them: but nothing else, exclusive of the reciprocal captures, happened, this year, in America.

THESE, and the transactions in the preceding chapter, were all the remarkable naval operations in the present year; though the men of war and privateers made several valuable acquisitions. The *Flora*, a French man of war, of twenty-two guns, was taken, on the coast of Martinico, by the *Greyhound* privateer, and carried into St Christophers, on the 2d of January. The *Vestal*, a Spanish register ship, of 700 ton, sixty guns, and 600 men, passengers included, from Cadiz for La Vera Cruz, was taken, on the 3d of March, by the *Enterprize* man of war, of forty guns, after an obstinate fight of seven hours, and carried into Jamaica; having 975 barrels of quicksilver, a great quantity of bale goods, and other effects, on board, to the value of 150,000 *l.* but neither the French, nor Spaniards, took any extraordinary prize in America.

THE *Bellona* of Nantz, a French privateer of thirty-six carriage, and twelve swivel guns, was taken, on the 2d of February, by the *Edinburgh*, *Nottingham*, and *Eagle* men of war, and carried into Plymouth, where she was converted into a man of war. The royal family privateers, consisting of five ships of force, under

PART IX. the command of Captain Walker, and fitted out by the proprietors of the Prince Frederic and Duke privateers, which took the two rich South Sea ships in 1745, made captures of two Spanish galleons outward bound, one of them, called the *Nympha*, carrying thirty-six guns, and 350 men, valued at 180,000 *l.* The *Revenge* privateer of Granville, of twenty-two guns, and 230 men, was taken, on the 9th of June; and brought into Portsmouth, by the *Maidstone* man of war, commanded by the Honourable Captain Van Kepple, who accompanied Commodore Anson in his voyage through the pacific ocean: but the *Maidstone* was soon afterwards lost, by chasing another French privateer too near the shore; though the captain and crew were providentially saved, and sent prisoners to Nantz, in Britany. The *Etoile*, a French man of war, of forty-six guns, was blown up by the French, on the 2d of July, to avoid being taken by some of the squadron under Sir Peter Warren, in a bay to the windward of the island of Lifarga. On the 12th of August, the *Viper* sloop of war, cruizing about thirty-four leagues to the south west of Ushant, fell in with the *Hector*, a Spanish register ship from the South-Seas, of twenty-eight guns, and fifty-six men, which she took, after some resistance, and carried her into Mount's bay in Cornwall: the *Hector* had landed her treasure, which amounted to 300,000 *l.* at the Canaries; but a Dutch ship, which was sent from the Canaries to Cadiz with 60,000 *l.* of the same treasure, and 400 hogshheads of wine, was taken by the *Kingston*, *Cumberland*, and *Hardwicke* privateers, under Commodore Acton; and the *Prince of Orange* privateer also took the *Maria Catherina*, from the Canaries for *Hamburgh*, with

with 60,000 ducats of the same treasure. The Bellona man of war, commanded by the Honourable Captain Barrington, as she was cruising to the west of Ushant, on the 18th of August, fell in with a French East India ship, from Port L'Orient, called *Le Duc de Chartres*, of 700 ton, thirty guns, and 195 men, laden with military stores, and provisions; which the Bellona took, and brought into Mount'sbay, after a gallant engagement, in which the French had twenty-five killed, and eighteen wounded; and the Bellona three killed, and seven wounded. The *Renomme*, a French man of war, of forty guns, and 300 men, with Commodore Conflans on board, who was going to his government of St Domingo, was taken on the 14th of September, after a smart engagement, by the Dover man of war, of forty guns, commanded by Captain Shirley, who carried the prize into Plymouth: Captain Shirley, soon after, took the *Hereux* privateer of St Maloes, of twenty-two guns, and 195 men, which he brought into Falmouth; and the *Castor*, a French man of war of twenty-eight guns, and 300 men, was also taken, about the same time, by the Hampshire man of war, of fifty-guns, and brought into Plymouth. The *Glorioso*, a Spanish man of war, of seventy guns, and 700 men, after her engagement with the Warwick; and Lark, landed her treasure at Ferrol, which was brought from the Havannah, and consisted of 1,300,000*l.* in specie; but, on the 7th of October, she fell in with the Dartmouth man of war, of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Hamilton, and the *Russel* of eighty guns, commanded by Captain Buckle: the Dartmouth immediately engaged the *Glorioso*, but unfortunately blew up, and all



PART the crew, except Lieutenant O Bryan, and eleven men, perished; however the *Ruffel*, assisted

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by the royal family privateers, obliged the *Glorioso* to strike, after the Spaniards had twenty-five killed, and as many wounded. No particular ship of force was taken by the French or Spaniards, excepting the *Louisburg* fireship, commanded by Captain Delamotte, which was taken, on the 4th of January, after a brave resistance, by a French privateer, and carried into Granville.

THE British cruisers, and privateers, were equally successful with their victorious admirals; their prizes, for this year, exceeding those taken by the French and Spaniards together: for they took in America, one man of war, thirty-six privateers, ninety-eight sail of Domingo and Martinico ships, one to Newfoundland, and four others, in all 140, from the French: they also took sixteen privateers, eleven register ships, and twenty-eight other ships, from the Spaniards in America, in all fifty-five; so that the whole number of prizes taken, this year, both from the French and Spaniards, amounted to 195: the British vessels taken by the French, in America, were one privateer, five Guinea ships, four from Newfoundland, and 184 trading to the sugar colonies, in all 194: the Spaniards also took from the English, in America, two privateers, three ships from Newfoundland, two from New-England, and eighty-two in the trade to the Leeward Islands and Jamaica, in all eighty-nine; so that the whole number of British prizes taken, this year, in America, by the French and Spaniards, amounted together to 283, which exceeded the number of prizes taken by the English by eighty-eight. The British squadrons, cruisers, and privateers, in the European seas, made captures

captures of seventeen French men of war, one sloop of war, eighty privateers, eight East India men, three Guinea ships, 127 in the trade to Domingo and Martinico, eighteen from Newfoundland, eleven Turkey ships, and 148 others, in all 413; they also took from the Spaniards one man of war, eleven privateers, seven register ships, and seventeen others, in all thirty-six, exclusive of forty-seven barks; which made the whole number of prizes taken, this year, in the European seas, from both the French and Spaniards, amount to 449: the French took from the English, in the European seas, one man of war, one fireship, nine privateers, seven Turkey ships, eight Guinea ships, twenty-two from Newfoundland, twenty-two from New England and Virginia, fifty-four from the Leeward Islands, and 102 others, in all 226, and the French also took one of the East India ships belonging to the British company in Asia: the Spaniards also took from the English, in the European seas, one Guinea ship, four from Newfoundland, four from New-England, fourteen from the Leeward Islands, and nineteen others, in all forty-two; so that the whole number of British prizes, taken this year, by the French and Spaniards together, in the European seas, amounted to 268; which was 181 less than the prizes taken by the English; who had, this year, taken both in Europe and America, from the French and Spaniards together, 644 prizes; whereas they only took 551 from the English, which was ninety three less than the former; making the whole number of ships and vessels taken from the Spaniards, since the commencement of the war, amount to 1,151, from the French to 1,713, and from both together to 2,864; the Spaniards also took 1,202, during the same time,

PART from the English, and the French also took

IX 1,543, being together 2,745, and 119 less than the prizes taken by the English.

1747. THE superiority of the naval arms of Britain was now so conspicuously evident, that she had not the appearance of an enemy to contest her sovereignty of the ocean. The Spaniards had seen their fleet diminished, since the commencement of the war, by the loss of twenty-one ships of the line, and eight frigates, besides sloops of war, and galleons: their remaining force was only six ships of the line in the West Indies, and sixteen in Europe; the former were incapable of acting offensively, and the greatest part of the latter had been blocked up in the harbours of Spain, since the battle of Toulon, by the British Squadron in the Mediterranean: the commerce of Spain was almost suspended; the king, the merchants, the community, found the necessity of an intercourse with England; the friendship of Britain alone could revive their drooping trade, it alone could give security to the arrival of their American treasures; and, therefore, all ranks and conditions of men, throughout the Spanish monarchy, were clamorous for a peace. The naval force of France had also suffered a large diminution, during the war; the French having lost twenty-two ships of the line, and twenty-three frigates, besides sloops of war, with a great number of strong privateers, and other formidable ships: the whole royal navy of France was now reduced to two ships of eighty guns, ten of seventy-four, two of seventy, three of sixty-four, three of sixty, five of fifty-six, two of fifty-four, and four of fifty, being thirty-one ships of the line, besides seven frigates; of these seven were old,

and

and unserviceable, and the remainder too few CHAP. II.  
to attempt any thing in opposition to the navy

of England : the commerce of France was so frequently interrupted, that the loss of their mer-

1747.

cantile interest seemed to threaten a general impoverishment through the debilitated provinces ; and the return of tranquility, with the free exercise of navigation, was universally and loudly required. The British nation, notwithstanding the detriment she had sustained by the interruption of commerce, and the loss in the royal navy, was still capable of continuing the maritime war, and of prosecuting it with redoubled vigour : the royal navy now consisted of six ships of 100 guns, thirteen of ninety, sixteen of eighty, twenty-five of seventy, thirty-two of sixty, and thirty-four of fifty, being 126 ships of the line ; besides thirty frigates of forty guns, and forty-five of twenty ; forty-three sloops, sixteen bombs, and nineteen fireships, in all 279 ; of which two of 100, four of ninety, ten of eighty, twenty-one of seventy, twenty-eight of sixty, thirty-two of fifty, twenty-eight of forty, forty-two of twenty, thirty-five sloops, twelve bombs, and eleven fireships, in all 225, were in commission, being ninety-six more than those in employment at the commencement of the Spanish war : this force, properly exerted, was sufficient to keep the dominion of the sea ; to protect the navigation of Britain ; to ruin the commerce of her enemies ; to ballance their victories on the continent ; and to make France gladly relinquish the triumphant laurel for the pacific olive.

THOUGH the French commerce was in a declining condition, it could have been decreased in a more extraordinary degree, even to a state of



PART of absolute ruin, had it not been supported by  
 IX! their insurances in England: this, among all  
 the mercantile losses of France, was a perpetual  
 1747! support; on this all the remains of the French  
 trade entirely subsisted; and this enabled their  
 merchants to continue their navigation, when  
 all the avenues to it were shut up by the vigi-  
 lance of the British cruizers and privateers: a  
 practice highly injurious to the national interest  
 of Britain, to the success of the war, and to  
 the liberties of Europe. The advantages of in-  
 surances for the security of commerce, and sup-  
 porting and extending the mercantile credit,  
 are manifestly great to the nation which has an  
 inferiority of maritime power: on the com-  
 mencement of the Spanish war, it was doubted,  
 whether, or no, the constitutional policy per-  
 mitted the English to insure for their enemies;  
 though as several gentlemen, of great abilities  
 and experience in mercantile affairs, were stren-  
 uous advocates for it, the point was almost re-  
 signed to them; however, the national import-  
 ance of the question demanding a free and  
 ample discussion, it was thought meritorious of  
 the senatorial attention; a bill, in 1741, was  
 laid before the British parliament for the prohi-  
 bition of a practice so prejudicial to the commu-  
 nity, but its rejection was then owing to a su-  
 perior influence, more than a conviction of its  
 impropriety or inutility; notwithstanding that  
 insurances, from their furnishing great oppor-  
 tunities for fraudulent proceedings, were, at that  
 time, prohibited, by the legislature, with re-  
 spect to British ships. Perhaps the gross pecu-  
 niary loss of the French, was more by the in-  
 surers profit, than it would have been if their  
 ships were not insured: but this loss being equally  
 shared

shared by all the French merchants in proportion to their respective quotas in trade, and the particular loss of each being ascertained, no individual sunk under the weight, the whole body was preserved, and their public credit supported; it was asserted that the British premium upon French Ships was generally one third of the value, from whence it was concluded, that the insurers did in reality capture one out of three, which was more than had been taken by the British cruizers; allowing this to be fact, yet it must be also granted that these insurances were the support of the French commerce; for it was evident, from this instance, that, without insurance, one French merchant out of three, would have been successively ruined, and two who escaped would have been overwhelmed with terror, and destitute of credit till the event of the voyage could be known; whereas, by ascertaining the loss, and permitting each merchant to contribute towards it, as his trade would bear, all were preserved, their credit was unshaken, and their commerce steadily and successfully pursued. When the trade of France was interrupted by the plague of Marseilles, the British trade proportionably increased; and before the sugar colonies of the former became numerous, the latter vended that commodity in the Baltic, Holland, Germany, and the Mediterranean; which markets have been since constantly supplied by the French: their insurances in Britain was the sole existence of this principal part of the commercial property of France; if this had been seasonably prevented, Britain would have found the most favourable opportunity of re-establishing herself at the foreign marts in the sugar trade, and the French would have been long

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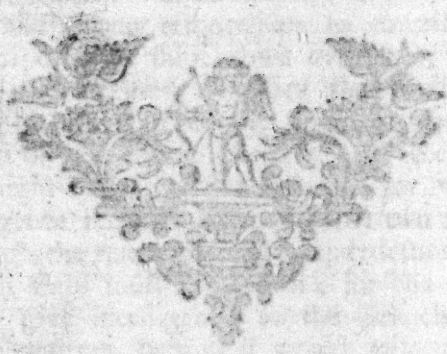
long precluded from their interest there. Besides these objections, there were others more prevalent against insurances: many of the most opulent captures from the French, particularly the two rich prizes from the South Sea, taken by Captain Talbot in 1745, were insured in England, which occasioned the national gain to be no more than the price of the premium, which was usually from 20 to 25 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and if the insured ships were destroyed, there was a clear national loss to the English of the whole value, after deducting the premium; so that the charge attending the destination and equipment of a British squadron, would be a waste both of public strength and treasure, except that it might increase the premium to be paid on the next insurance: besides, this practice was the more pernicious from the very nature of the end for which it was calculated; because the insurers had strong temptations to contribute to the escape of the ships which they had insured, and it even seemed necessary that the French should be informed of the force, number, and stations of the British cruisers, that the premium might be equitably adjusted; nor was this intelligence reciprocal between the two nations, although the number, value, and destination of French ships must be known; for the insurers would give intelligence to the French of the British cruisers, because it would raise the premium; but would not give intelligence to the British cruisers of the French ships, because it would promote captures. Therefore, while the British admiralty, and proprietors of private ships of war, were exerting the maritime force of the state, totally to ruin the commerce of France, the British insurers frustrated their endeavours,

deavours, by restraining the utmost possible loss CHAP.  
of the French merchants to one fourth of their II.  
property, or whatever was paid for the premi-  
um : but, convinced, from the still hydra ex- 1747.  
istence of the French commerce, that insurances  
ought to be prohibited, the British parliament  
retook it into consideration ; and, on the 25th  
of March, 1748, an act was passed “ To pro-  
hibit insurance of the ships belonging to  
“ France, and on merchandizes or effects laden  
“ thereon, during the present war with France.”





endeavour, by restraining the utmost possible loss of the French merchants to one fourth of their property, or whatever was paid for the premium: but, convinced, from the still higher expense of the French commerce, that insurance ought to be prohibited, the British parliament took it into consideration; and, on the 21st of March, 1748, an act was passed "To prohibit insurance of the ships belonging to France, and of merchandise or effects laden thereon, during the present war with France."





THE  
TENTH PART,

FROM THE

Rise of the Congress at AIX LA CHAPPELLE, to the Conclusion of THE GENERAL AND DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE, on the 7th of October 1748: including the ministerial Transactions, and the military and naval History, till the general Cessation of Arms; with other incidental Occurrences, subsequent to the Ratification of the DEFINITIVE TREATY.



THE  
TENTH PART.

FROM THE

Notes of the Congress at Aix la Chapelle, to the Conclusion of the  
General and definitive Treaty of Peace, on the 24th of October 1763: including the ministerial Transactions, and the military and naval History, till the general Cessation of Arms; with other incidental Occurrences, subsequent to the Ratification of the definitive Treaty.



## CHAPTER I.

The state of the contending powers ;  
with the dispositions of the courts  
of PETERSBURGH, CONSTANTI-  
NOBLE, and BERLIN. An ac-  
count of the treaty, between the  
CZARINA and the maritime pow-  
ers, concerning the march of the  
thirty thousand RUSSIAN auxili-  
aries. The rise of the congress  
at AIX LA CHAPELLE. The  
proceedings in the first session of  
the new BRITISH parliament,  
and other domestic occurrences :  
with the conduct of the DUTCH,  
and the other belligerent powers,  
for continuing the war.



PART  
X.

1747.



**W**HEN the inclemency of winter prevented the ravages of hostility, and the voice of nature had inspired a general truce; during this interval of tranquility ambition began to rest, animosity to be dissipated, and mutual wants to require mutual assistance. France, in the zenith of her victorious progress on the continent, felt the blows of the confederates; she also felt the burthen of expensive armaments, and found that her wealth was diminishing in a greater degree than her power was increasing; and, she knew that, in a short time, the Dutch would be compelled, either from within or without, to act more vigorously against her: in the mean time her navy was brought to a state of annihilation, her trade rendered uncertain, and her colonies threatened with invasions: though she was ever known to be fruitful in resources, she, at this time, seemed to be surrounded with a more potent confederacy, and languishing under the greatest impoverishment; her provinces were afflicted with famine, exhausted of inhabitants, and the cries of the survivors, expressed in the voice of her most august assembly, had besieged the throne of her despotic sovereign: in Italy her affairs had long worn a discouraging, or at least a dubious aspect; and her progress in the Netherlands, as she advanced nearer the territories of the Dutch, grew every day more considerable. As to Spain, her returns from Mexico and Peru, on which the whole house of Bourbon principally depended, were small, precarious, and insufficient, through the vigilance which began to appear in the British admiralty. Genoa had lost her trade, her opulent inhabitants,

tants, the credit of her bank, her supplies from Corsica, and was obliged to accept of a monthly subsidy, with auxiliary troops, to defend her own capital, without being in a capacity of making any material effort in behalf of her confederates. The Duke of Modena had been long dispossessed of his estates; his patrimonial revenues were converted to the use of the troops of the opposite alliance; and, without soldiers or domains, he was an unfortunate pensioner to France for a subsistence. The military dispositions of his Prussian majesty, manifested but little sincerity for the assistance of France; this monarch had kept a numerous army on foot, continued to recruit them through the year, and personally reviewed them in their different cantonments; but he was too well satisfied with the acquisition of Silesia, and too sensible of the incroachments of France, to re-draw the sword, and again to break through the solemnity of treaties: the Prussian troops had already committed too excessive devastations through the artifices of France; the king had consecrated his arms to peace; amidst his attention to external affairs, he pursued his favourite plan of augmenting the number of his subjects, of enlarging their commerce, establishing a maritime trade, and reforming the practice of the judicatory courts throughout his dominions; nor did he shew the indications of friendship which the court of France was desirous of obtaining. His Polish majesty had contracted a tie of consanguinity with the King of France, by marrying his daughter to the Dauphin; this induced him to desert his alliance with the house of Austria; he disbanded a part of his electoral forces; but he shewed no intention of embroiling himself

PART afresh, either as a principal, or an assistant ally :  
 X. his son-in-law, the king of the two Sicilies, was  
 compelled to a strict observance of his neutrality,  
 1747. by the proximity of the British fleet : while the  
 Polish diet inefficaciously wasted the time limited  
 for their session in fruitless debates, and separated  
 without coming to any resolution, regarding the  
 augmentation of their army, the cultivation of  
 alliances, and several other points that would  
 tend to make the Poles more respectable among  
 the nations of Europe. The massacre of Kouli  
 Kan, and the revolution in Persia, abolished  
 every hope of France in irritating the Ottoman  
 court against the house of Austria, or disturbing  
 the tranquility of Russia : though the court of  
 Versailles had been endeavouring to renew the  
 dissensions between the Czarina and Sweden; but,  
 as their attempt was ineffectual, the martial ele-  
 vation of France began to decline, and pacific  
 measures to be adopted with sincerity.

THE House of Bourbon could not see, with-  
 out jealousy and resentment, the prevalence of  
 the maritime powers at the court of Petersburg,  
 and the prospect thence arising ; because those  
 powers, with the empress-queen, who had also a  
 great interest at the same court, might speedily  
 acquire that superiority in the field which they  
 had hitherto wanted. These fears were neces-  
 sarily increased by the dispositions of the Dutch,  
 the alteration of government in the republic,  
 and the vigorous efforts of the Stadtholder in  
 concurring with the views of his Britannic ma-  
 jesty, who was still enabled, and still ready, to  
 prosecute the war on the continent, with a zeal  
 redoubled for the security of the United Provin-  
 ces, and the preservation of the liberties of Eu-  
 rope, by a safe and honourable peace. The  
 court

court of Russia was already under the obligation of very close engagements, both to the courts of London and Vienna; to the former by the treaty of 1742, to the latter by that of 1746: the Czarina still remembered the insults of France, in the practices of the Marquis de la Chetardie; these were lately renewed by the Count de Salle; and, as the Czarina had probably an interest of her own to serve, by enabling the maritime powers to continue the war, she was willing to put it in their power to prescribe a peace: a body of 30,000 Russian auxiliaries had been long solicited for the assistance of the maritime powers in the Netherlands, but it was not brought to any decision till the 7th of November 1747, when the Earl of Hyndford concluded a treaty, by which it was provided, that, for the sum of 100,000*l.* the Czarina should hold 30,000 men, and forty or fifty gallies, in readiness, to be employed in the service of the allies, upon the first requisition, for three years, at 300,000*l.* a year, and not to be dismissed under four months notice; and to this treaty the States General acceded, on the 11th of July following, on the condition of paying one fourth part of the sum, agreeable to a resolution which they had taken the 9th of January before, notwithstanding the British ambassador had signed the treaty without their participation, and had agreed, that, in case the States General should fail in their part of the engagement, England should pay the whole; but, after the accession of the states, no requisition was made of these troops, nor any condition settled for their being employed till the 19th of November following; which was so much the more extraordinarily remarkable, because Count Bentinck was sent, by the Prince of



Orange, to press that measure at London, so early as the first week in September; a neglect that deprived the confederates of that speedy utility of the Russians, as might have been naturally expected; for the maritime powers made no use of the Russian Gallies, which had been kept in readiness ever since July, and by the means of which the troops might have been transported, before the summer was over, to Lubbeck, or some other port in the Baltic, from whence they would have had little farther to march than the troops of Hanover, and consequently might have reached the confederate army by the latter end of the campaign in 1747: all thoughts of transporting the Russians by sea were entirely relinquished, for the preference of an almost immeasurable march over land, at the expence of 600,000 *l.* a march that could not be undertaken till January or February 1748; a march that no body could be certain would be performed without interruption, and not be performed at all in less than five months: however, it was sufficiently alarming to the ministry of Versailles, who perceived that the confederates were entering into closer stipulations, and were concerting the proper measures for bringing an army into the field superior to all the force of France; this gave rise to a renewal of the pacific negotiations, which was productive of the definitive treaty of peace concluded at Aix la Chapelle, a treaty that distinguished the year 1748 of the present century, as those of Munster and Osnabrug did the same year of the last; with this material difference, that the negotiators in 1648 did actually discuss and settle, upon solid principles, the interests and claims, religious and civil, of the several powers in the christian world;

world ; whereas the negotiation of 1748 appears to have been the consequence of few discussions, and cannot be expected to stand for the basis of future treaties, through a whole century, as those of Westphalia have done. 1747.

IN vain were four years employed to bring about a pacification : the enemies of liberty vainly flattered themselves with finding an opportunity to execute their favourite project of prescribing law to Europe ; they apprehended their seducing discourses at the Hague, which had not always met with unfavourable auditors, would take off the attention of the republic from the misfortunes which threatened it, and its natural allies : this method not quite succeeding, they endeavoured to divide confederates, whose safety consisted in their being united ; and this artifice having failed them, they were, at length, obliged to address themselves to the maritime powers, who then answered these advances in the only proper manner, namely, in concert with themselves ; a method that had all imaginable success, since it occasioned the procuration of peace, at the very time when the French were at the gates of the republic ; for as soon as England and the United Provinces kept the same language, and combined in the same views, they rendered themselves infinitely more formidable, than when their forces were entire, and the French at a distance from their frontiers : an example demonstrative of the necessity of the antient system, which supposes a strict alliance, and inseparable union, betwixt Great Britain and the republic ; a maxim so sacred, that on it are dependent the safety and prosperity of two potent people, who have so often defended, and with so much success, their own liberty, and that of

PART the rest of Europe. From the time the Grand  
 X. Duke of Tuscany had been elected Emperor,  
 1747. and the King of Prussia had confirmed himself  
 in the possession of Silesia by the treaty of Dresden; France found herself so equally gratified on one hand, and disappointed on the other, that she became desirous of such a peace as might accomplish her views in Italy, and procure somewhat of an indemnification for her losses in Germany, and her expences in the Netherlands: the imperial throne being filled, there was no pretension for any farther practice to divide and distract the empire; and the rendering Silesia from the Austrian inheritance, and transferring it to his Prussian majesty, had not only aggrandized the latter, at the expence of the former, but rendered it in a manner impossible, that these two formidable powers should ever embrace the same party, and pursue the same purposes, for an age or two to come: for these reasons, therefore, and for others yet more cogent, such as the ruined state of her commerce, navigation, and naval strength, the distresses and danger of her colonies, the wants and miseries which began to rage in her own bowels, France was desirous of renewing the conferences which she had abruptly broke up at Breda. His Most Christian Majesty himself, in the very hour of victory, discovered a passionate inclination for peace to General Ligonier, when brought before him as a prisoner, after the battle of Val: this general was very soon after dismissed, on his parole, to communicate certain formal propositions on that head; but these propositions were rejected; the offers of Spain separately, and of France and Spain conjunctively, were also rejected: with regard to the latter, it was said, they

they were not agreeable to the allies of Britain, CHAP.  
and that she could not accept of a peace without I.  
their concurrence ; and with regard to the former, 1747.

that the profit arising to Britain from the re-establishment of her commerce with Spain, which was to have taken place immediately on the accommodation, would have been overballanced by the mischiefs to be apprehended from the troops and supplies, which the return of so immense a treasure as the British navy had locked up in the West Indies, would enable the Spaniards to pour into Italy. The French monarch, after the reduction of Bergen-op-Zoom, ordered his minister, the Abbe de la Ville, to transmit, from the camp of Hamal, near Tongres, to the Hague, a declaration, importing, " THAT the king had not altered his principles: his majesty being ever desirous of restoring peace, not only to his subjects, but to all the nations afflicted with the calamities of war, had neglected none of the means that he thought might bring his enemies, and their allies, into the same way of thinking ; but the uprightness of his intention had hitherto been repaid with nothing but inflexibility on the part of his enemies ; and the advances he made towards putting an end to the war, had been attributed to nothing but an incapacity to carry it on. THAT the king, who hoped that his declaration, made before the expedition of Count Lowendahl into Dutch Brabant, would have had some effect, had seen, with great concern, that the republic answered it only by measures and proceedings very opposite to the dispositions of his majesty ; and the silence which the States General observed, with respect to that



“ that declaration, apparently amounted to a  
 “ demonstration, that they preserved hatred to  
 “ friendship, the desolation of their territories  
 “ to the repose of their people, illusion to  
 “ truth, and the private interest of some to the  
 “ welfare of the whole body of the republic.  
 “ Nevertheless his majesty was willing to sus-  
 “ pend his judgment of those appearances;  
 “ the change that had happened in the in-  
 “ terior administration of the republic, had oc-  
 “ casioned none in his sentiments: but all things  
 “ had certain limits; and his majesty thought  
 “ that the safety of his subjects, and the people  
 “ he had conquered, required him to continue  
 “ to make use of such means as might stop the  
 “ resources which his enemies found, in such  
 “ abundance, in the dominions of the repub-  
 “ lic. THAT the king was still willing to  
 “ forewarn their High Mightinesses, that the  
 “ same motives which forced him, at the open-  
 “ ing of the campaign, to make his troops enter  
 “ the territory of the United Provinces, might  
 “ render it necessary that the general of his  
 “ army should frame his ulterior measures upon  
 “ the same plan, both in regard to military  
 “ operations, and the subsistence of his troops.  
 “ THAT the king, more concerned at the pub-  
 “ lic calamities than intent on aggrandizing  
 “ himself, did yet earnestly wish that the States  
 “ General would make use of their power, and  
 “ their credit, with their allies, only to inspire  
 “ them with desires for a general reconcilia-  
 “ tion: for it was not without the utmost re-  
 “ luctance that his majesty always found him-  
 “ self obliged to have recourse to force, in or-  
 “ der to attain at last a peace, which he thought  
 “ to effect from moderation alone, and those sen-  
 “ timents

“ sentiments of humanity, that should be common  
“ to all nations.” This declaration was delivered,  
on the 30th of September, in the assembly of the  
States, who, on the 7th of November, drew up  
a long memorial in answer to the two declara-  
tions of his most Christian majesty, wherein  
they represented the conduct of France in op-  
pressing the house of Austria, in intimidating the  
States from assisting their allies, and the insinc-  
erity of France at the congress at Breda: they  
represented, “ THAT their High Mightinesses  
“ desired nothing more ardently, than to re-  
“ ceive proofs of the sincerity of his majesty’s  
“ intentions in favour of a general peace; and  
“ to be convinced, by effects, that his majesty  
“ was, in good earnest, more affected with the  
“ public calamities, under which so many na-  
“ tions were groaning, than intent upon his  
“ own aggrandizement. Their High Migh-  
“ tineesses were persuaded, that their allies had  
“ the same sentiments; and that they were  
“ far from being inexorable on this head: but  
“ it was not enough to make protestations in  
“ general terms: nothing but actions and ef-  
“ fects, conducted by a just moderation, could  
“ enable men to form a judgment of inward sin-  
“ cerity; and of these, their High Mightinesses,  
“ and their allies, had hitherto had but little  
“ experience: neither was so salutary an end to  
“ be attained by prescribing the ingredients, of  
“ a general pacification, according to private  
“ desires and caprice; much less by methods of  
“ violence; especially when they were employ-  
“ ed against an innocent republic, who desired  
“ nothing but a just and reasonable peace, and  
“ who had not given so much as the shadow of  
“ a lawful reason for being treated in such a  
“ manner :

1747.

“ manner : violence could naturally produce  
 “ nothing but violence ; and enmity must cer-  
 “ tainly raise enmity ; so that as long as their  
 “ High Mightinesses were treated as they had  
 “ hitherto been, they must of necessity follow  
 “ these rules ; being firmly resolved to venture  
 “ their fortunes, their lives, and every thing  
 “ without exception, to the last extremity in  
 “ their lawful defence : but their High Mighti-  
 “ nesses would, however, be always ready and  
 “ willing to contribute to the re-establishment  
 “ of the public tranquility, and of a general  
 “ peace, as what they had, at all times, sin-  
 “ cerely wished for, upon just and reasonable  
 “ conditions.” France also repeated her pacific  
 applications at the court of London, and ano-  
 ther congress was agreed to be opened at Aix  
 la Chapelle, an Imperial city, in the dutchy of  
 Juliers, eighteen miles N. E. of Liege, and  
 thirty miles W. of Cologne, formerly the capi-  
 tal of Germany, when Charlemagne swayed the  
 imperial sceptre, and at this time a place of  
 great magnificence ; but the congress was not  
 opened, till the 11th of March 1748, when the  
 Earl of Sandwich the British plenipotentiary,  
 the Count de St Severin de Arragon the pleni-  
 potentiary for France, with the Count de Ben-  
 tinck, the Baron de Wassanaer, and M. Haffe-  
 laer, the plenipotentiaries for the United Pro-  
 vinces, assembled with seemingly pacific designs,  
 and great civilities were passing between them :  
 but the negotiations were begun so late, that  
 they had like to have been disturbed by the storm  
 of war, which was ready to burst upon Mae-  
 stricht, within the hearing of the plenipotentiaries.  
 With these appearances of a speedy termi-  
 nation of all the calamities arising from martial  
 contention,

contention, his Britannic majesty assembled his new parliament, on the 10th of November, when he went to the house of peers, and, being seated on the throne in his royal robes, sent for the house of commons, signifying, by the lord chancellor, his pleasure that they should chuse a speaker, and present him on the 12th to his majesty in the house of peers; upon which the commons returned to their house, and unanimously chose the Right Honourable Arthur Onslow, Esq; who had presided in the chair during the two former sessions. His majesty, on the 12th of November, returned to the house, where the commons waited on him with the speaker; after which his majesty opened the first session, with a speech from the throne, wherein he represented,

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I.

1747.

“ THAT as one of his principal views, in calling this parliament, was, that he might receive the most clear and certain information of the sense of his people, on the present posture of affairs; he was desirous to meet them as early as their own convenience, as well as that of the public, would admit.

“ THAT by the advice of his parliament, he entered into the war against Spain, in order to vindicate and secure the trade and commerce of his subjects: by their advice also, and in conformity to his engagements, he undertook the support of the Empress Queen of Hungary, and of the just rights of the house of Austria: in resentment of this conduct, so necessary for the interest of his own kingdoms, and of the ancient allies of his crown, France not only declared war against him, but fomented and supported an unnatural rebellion within the British nation: That in carrying  
“ on



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“ on this just and necessary war, he had found  
 “ the most chearful and vigorous support from  
 “ his parliament ; and though the success had  
 “ not been answerable to their wishes, and just  
 “ expectations, in the Low Countries ; yet it  
 “ must be allowed, to the honour of Britain,  
 “ that no part of the misfortunes could be im-  
 “ puted to them.

“ THAT the signal successes, which it had  
 “ pleased God to grant England at sea, had  
 “ made the enemy feel the weight of her naval  
 “ strength, to their great loss, and the real and  
 “ solid advantage of Britain. This had appear-  
 “ ed most remarkably in the operations of his  
 “ fleet the last year ; which had tended no less  
 “ to the honour of the British flag, than to the  
 “ reduction of the maritime force and com-  
 “ merce of France. The government of the  
 “ United Provinces had, once more, resumed  
 “ that consistency, which would give great  
 “ strength to the common cause ; cement more  
 “ firmly the friendship between Britain and that  
 “ republic ; and be a lasting security to their  
 “ inseparable interests : one great effect of this  
 “ happy alteration in Holland had already ap-  
 “ peared, in the vigorous declaration lately  
 “ made by the States General to the court of  
 “ France ; and the orders given by them, for  
 “ committing hostilities every where against the  
 “ French king and his subjects.

“ THAT some overtures, for a general paci-  
 “ fication, had lately been made to him, on the  
 “ part of France ; and though some of the  
 “ terms proposed were such as could not be  
 “ approved, yet, as he had no other aim but  
 “ to bring about a safe and honourable peace,  
 “ he had shewn the utmost inclination to facilitate  
 “ it,

“ it, in conjunction with his allies ; and a con-  
“ gress was actually agreed to be held at Aix CHAP.  
“ la Chapelle, whither the several ministers I.  
“ would soon repair ; and he hoped all the  
“ powers concerned would bring with them  
“ the same dispositions to effectuate this great  
“ work, on just and reasonable conditions,  
“ which he sincerely had. 1747.  
“ THAT in this situation, he was confident his  
“ parliament would agree in opinion with him,  
“ that it was necessary to be vigilant and atten-  
“ tive to every event ; and that there would be  
“ no reason to expect a good peace, but by being  
“ timely prepared to carry on a vigorous and ef-  
“ fectual war. He therefore relied on their hearty  
“ and powerful support, to enable him to pro-  
“ secute the war, in case the obstinacy of his  
“ enemies, in not agreeing to just and reason-  
“ able terms of accommodation, should render  
“ it unavoidable. For this purpose, he was then  
“ actually concerting the necessary measures with  
“ his allies ; whose interests he was determined  
“ to adhere to and support : he advised them to  
“ be in readiness, in case the negotiations should  
“ fail of the desired effect, to convince their ene-  
“ mies, how much they were mistaken, if they  
“ vainly imagined that Great Britain, and her  
“ allies, would submit to receive the law from  
“ any power whatsoever ; and demonstrate to  
“ the world, that they would decline no diffi-  
“ culty or hazard for the preservation of the  
“ common liberty, and their own independen-  
“ cy, and essential interests : concluding, that  
“ he would only add, that there never was a con-  
“ juncture, in which unanimity, firmness, and  
“ dispatch, were more necessary for the safety,  
“ honour, and true interest of Great Britain.”

THE

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THE addresses of both houses of parliament were unanimously passed, being expressive of the greatest loyalty and affection for his majesty, and a steady attachment to the liberties of Europe: the lords informing his majesty, "That they could not approach his royal person, without expressing their highest satisfaction in those events, which had happened in Holland, in favour of a prince allied to his majesty by the nearest ties; descended from an illustrious house, in which the defence of public liberty had been hereditary; and which had produced deliverers of Britain, as well as of that protestant republic; from which alteration, they could not but promise themselves the strictest union of councils between his majesty and the States General, and an additional strength in pursuing such measures as should be most conducive to the common good of both nations:" the commons also congratulated his majesty on the same occasion, assuring him, "That if, contrary to their wishes and expectations, the enemies of Great Britain, by insisting on unreasonable and inadmissible terms, made the continuance of the war unavoidable, they were determined to support his majesty to the utmost; and, to convince their enemies of this their stedfast resolution, they would immediately grant such supplies as might, in conjunction with the British allies, enable his majesty to carry on the war with vigour, maintain the honour and dignity of the crown of Great Britain, and support the mutual interest of his majesty, and his allies."

THE new parliament had been happily chosen to countenance the conduct of the Duke of Newcastle,

castle, and his brother, who were absolutely pre-dominant in the cabinet, and found but an immaterial opposition in the senate: their rivals were, by this time, no more considered at court, than amongst the people; and the adoption of pacific measures, with a notable exertion of the military power abroad, was not likely to be discountenanced by the present parliament, where a great many of those who had seen the whole course of the ministerial transactions, and who had been known advocates for the war, were not admitted to sit; and, as the new representatives were not even supposed to know what had been said, or done, before their time, such a parliament might, therefore, take any new transaction, without being exposed to any censure without doors, or creating any violent ferment within: the Duke of Bedford had now given his concurrence in promoting a pacification; the Earl of Sandwich was to have the principal share in conducting the negociation, and the convention of this year, for settling the number of the confederate forces, was entrusted to his management, in the same manner as the last: so powerful was the present administration, that they had no danger to apprehend from opposition; the Earl of Orford never had more prevalence, the Earl of Granville never had an equal influence with the present ministerial coalition, by which he was more artfully supplanted, than meritoriously succeeded, for, after practising their abilities throughout the whole rotation of the political system, the coefficient Fraterculi were obliged to acknowledge the rectitude of the measures pursued by their predecessors, by treading in that path through which the Earl of Granville was first conducted by the genius of



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Britain; a path that, properly followed, might have extricated an impoverished nation from a load of misfortunes, and shewn posterity how to avoid bewildering themselves in those devious labyrinths, where the inexperienced, incorrigible, or corrupted statesman, has an opportunity of losing himself, injuring his country, and entailing a train of unhappiness to futurity: however, the Earl of Chesterfield deserted the coalition, by a voluntary resignation of the seals to his majesty, who appointed the Duke of Bedford to succeed him as one of the principal secretaries of state.

THE national debt, on the 31st of December 1747, amounted to 64,593,797 *l.* 16 *s.* which was an increase of 5,237,300 *l.* since the 31st of December 1746; but the new parliament still exceeded the liberality of the former, by granting, with inconsiderable contention, the sum of 8,507,930 *l.* for the services of the year 1748; for which there was an ample provision made, by continuing the land tax at four shillings in the pound, the malt duty, 1,000,000 *l.* to be taken out of the sinking fund, and 6,300,000 *l.* on a loan by subscription, chargeable on a new subsidy of poundage upon all goods and merchandizes to be imported into Great Britain, which was subscribed for immediately on opening the books, and above two millions more offered and rejected; an extraordinary instance of public spirit, and national credit; an instance that must give a flow of joy to every British heart, to find that his country, oppressed with a ten years war, and groaning beneath the load of former debts, was still able to furnish such opulent supplies, and to see such multitudes struggling who should be foremost in lending their wealth to the public to

check

check the insolence of her enemies, the subscription being made at par, for which four per cent. per annum was given, and 63,000 lottery tickets by way of premium, which was one ticket, value 10 *l.* for every 100 *l.* subscribed, and was all begun and compleated, before even the report of it had reached the remote quarters of the metropolis. These potent supplies were appropriated to the continuance of 40,000 seamen, for which 2,080,000 *l.* was granted; 1,300,000 *l.* for 49,000 land forces; 206,253 *l.* 15 *s.* for 11,500 marines; 1,000,000 *l.* towards the diminution of the navy debt; 208,827 *l.* for the ordinary of the navy; for ordnance for land service 342,064 *l.* 1,743,313 *l.* for allies and auxiliaries, of which 400,000 *l.* was to enable the Queen of Hungary to make an effectual campaign, 300,000 *l.* to make good engagements with the King of Sardinia, 470,223 *l.* for the pay and subsistence of 22,000 Hanoverians, 167,881 *l.* for the proportion of the subsidy for 30,000 Russians, and defraying their march to Upper Silesia, with 150,000 *l.* for their forage and provisions, from thence till their return to Poland, 8,620 *l.* to the Elector of Mentz, 26,846 *l.* to the Elector of Bavaria, 161,607 *l.* for 6,000 Hessians, and 57,792 *l.* for 4,000 Wolfenbutter troops from the 25th of March to the 24th of December 1748; 235,749 *l.* 2 *s.* 10 *d.* to reimburse the provinces of New England, their expences in reducing Cape Breton; 500,000 *l.* to carry on the war; and 152,237 *l.* 15 *s.* 4 *d.* to the Scotch claimants for their jurisdictions; which, with other less incidental charges, took up the whole appropriation of the supplies.

1748.

SOME material debates came under the senatorial consideration: a bill was brought into the house of commons, "For a general naturalization of foreign protestants;" which was petitioned against by the city of London; and, on the 4th of February, was thrown out, on the second reading, after a free, candid, and impartial discussion: a like law was attempted in the reign of the late King William, and in the reign of his successor Queen Anne; the former was rejected, but the experiment was tried by the latter, by passing a law for that purpose, though it was found so detrimental to the public interest, that it was soon after repealed, and not without some reflections on the mischief of which it had been productive. As the insurance of the French ships was an argument highly meritorious of the public consideration, a bill was brought into the house of commons, "To prohibit insurance on ships belonging to France, and merchandize and effects laden therein," prepared by Mr Nugent, Mr Janssen, Mr Walpole, and Sir William Calvert; which gained the approbation of both houses. As the parliamentary contentions were too inconsiderable to affect the ministerial influence, the senatorial proceedings met with little interruption, and several acts were passed extremely salutary to the national interest; among the most public was an act, "For granting to his majesty a subsidy of one shilling poundage upon all goods and merchandizes to be imported into the kingdom of Great Britain; and for raising a certain sum of money by annuities and a lottery, to be charged on the said subsidy; and for repealing so much of an act made in the twentieth year of his present majesty's reign, as enacted, that prize goods,

“ goods and merchandizes might be exported CHAP.  
“ without paying any duty, of custom or ex- I.  
“ cise, for the same ; ” and this act, than which none could be of greater importance, was 1748.  
carried on without a division. The act of parliament for preventing vexatious suits, and arrests for small debts, expired on the 1st of June 1747, and left all the avenues open to private animosity ; but, on the 18th of February, an act was passed, “ To revive and make perpetual two acts  
“ of parliament, one made in the 12th year of  
“ King George I. intituled an act to prevent  
“ frivolous and vexatious arrests, and the other  
“ made in the fifth year of his present majesty,  
“ to explain, amend, and render more effectual  
“ the said act.” On the 25th of March, an act was passed, “ To prohibit insurance of the  
“ ships belonging to France, and on merchandizes or effects laden thereon, during the present war with France.” On the 13th of May the royal assent was given to, “ An act for permitting tea to be exported to Ireland, and the  
“ British plantations in America, without paying  
“ the inland duties charged thereupon by an  
“ act of the 18th year of his present majesty : ” also to “ An act for encouraging the making  
“ of indico in the British plantations in America ; ” for which commodity the English paid the French about 200,000 *l.* a year : and, as the preliminaries for a general peace had been adjusted, his majesty passed, “ An act for the relief of insolvent debtors ; ” by which all debtors for 500 *l.* or under, were discharged ; all fugitives, who were abroad on the 1st of January last, were intituled to the benefit of this act, on delivering up all their effects, except wearing apparel, and tools not to exceed 10 *l.* but all



PART bankrupts not obtaining their certificates, attorneys retaining their clients money, persons indebted to the crown, and former insolvents were  
 X. 1748. excepted; and the creditors of those continuing

in goal were authorized to compel them to give an account, upon oath, of their effects. His majesty, at the same time, gave the royal assent to several other less material acts; after which he put an end to the session, by a speech from the throne, importing, "THAT, at the opening of this session, he informed them a congress had been agreed upon by the several powers at war; and he had now the satisfaction to acquaint them, that preliminaries, for restoring a general peace, had been signed between his minister, and those of the Most Christian King, and the States General of the United Provinces; the basis of which was a general restitution of conquests made, during the war, on all sides.

"THAT in consequence of these preliminaries, which had been ratified by all the contracting parties, a cessation of hostilities had actually taken place in the Low Countries, and in the channel; and certain periods were fixed, according to former practice, for its commencement in other parts of the world.

"THAT, in this important transaction, his great views had been, steadily to adhere to the true interests of Europe, to pursue and maintain those of his own kingdoms in particular, and to procure for his allies the best terms and conditions, that the events of a war, in some parts unsuccessful, would admit.

"THAT he had, in the course of this negotiation, acted with the most unreserved confidence and communication towards his allies;

"and

“ and he hoped that, when they had maturely  
“ weighed the situation of affairs, the necessity  
“ from thence arising, and the care and atten-  
“ tion which had been shewn for their advan-  
“ tage and security, they would not delay to  
“ accede to these preliminary articles, but con-  
“ cur in effectuating the good work of peace.

CHAP.

I.

1748.

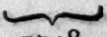
“ THAT the vigorous and powerful support  
“ his parliament had given him, during this ses-  
“ sion, towards carrying on the war, had  
“ strengthened his hands, in proceeding thus  
“ far in the measures of peace. No body could  
“ suggest the least failure on the part of Great  
“ Britain, which, not only for the sake of its  
“ own particular interest, but of the common  
“ cause, had taken on itself a share of the bur-  
“ then, unexampled in former times. That  
“ he hoped soon to see this necessary work  
“ brought to perfection, with the concurrence  
“ of all his allies, with whom it was his firm in-  
“ tention to cultivate the most perfect harmony,  
“ and to cement and strengthen, if possible,  
“ the ties of antient union and friendship, in  
“ such a manner as might render the peace se-  
“ cure and durable.

“ THAT he could not sufficiently express his  
“ entire satisfaction in the whole conduct of his  
“ parliament during this session; and he recom-  
“ mended to them, to promote, in their seve-  
“ ral countries, a right sense of those measures,  
“ which had been so necessarily taken for the  
“ security and ease of his people. Concluding,  
“ that as it was the earnest desire of his heart,  
“ to see the crown of Great Britain maintain  
“ that figure, strength, and weight, in making  
“ war and peace, which justly belonged to it, it

PART “ was equally so, to see his good subjects enjoy  
X. “ the blessings of tranquility and prosperity.”

THE parliament was then prorogued to the  
1748. 30th of June ; and afterwards, by different pro-  
rogations, to the 29th of November.

HIS majesty had made several military and naval promotions, by which he appointed George Read and Archibald Hamilton, Esqrs; John Earl of Rothes, Richard Onslow, Henry Pulteney, Charles Howard, Philip Bragg, John Huske, Charles Frampton, Alexander Irwin, Richard St George, John Campbell, Will. Blakeney, Humphry Bland, and James Oglethorpe, Esqrs; John Lord Delaware, Charles Duke of Marlborough, John Earl of Crawford, George Churchill, Henry Skelton, John Johnson, Edward Wolfe, and John Wynyard, Esqrs; Lieutenant-Generals: Thomas Bligh, Esq; Sir William Gooch, Bart; Charles Armand Powlett, and Thomas Fowkes, Esqrs; George Lord Viscount Torrington, James Fleming, John Price, John Mordaunt, James Cholmondeley, and Henry de Grangues, Esqrs; Major-Generals: Sir John Ligonier was appointed Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, in the room of Marshal Wade deceased ; and several vacancies, to the commands of regiments, were conferred on such persons who had distinguished themselves in the military service. William Rowley, Esq; was appointed Admiral of the White ; Lord Vere Beauclerk, and George Lord Anson, Admirals of the Blue ; Perry Mayne, Esq; Sir Peter Warren, and the Honourable John Byng, Esq; Vice-Admirals of the Red ; Henry Osborn, the Honourable Fitzroy Henry Lee, and Thomas Smith, Esqrs; Vice-Admirals of the White ; Thomas Griffin, Esq; and Sir Edward Hawke, Vice-Admirals of the Blue ; Wil-  
liam

liam Chambers, and Charles Knowles, Esqrs; CHAP.  
Rear-Admirals of the Red; the Honourable John I.  
Forbes, and the Honourable Edward Boscawen,   
Esqrs; Rear-Admirals of the White; and Robert 1748.  
Michel and Charles Watson, Esqrs; Rear-Admirals of the Blue. As the Duke of Bedford succeeded the Earl of Chesterfield as Secretary of State, the Earl of Sandwich was appointed the first Lord of the Admiralty, and John Stanhope, Esq; filled up the vacancy at that honourable board. The preliminaries being settled, and a cessation of hostilities agreed upon, his Britannic majesty was determined to take this opportunity of re-visiting his German dominions; he had already nominated the lords of the regency, who were Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Philip Lord Hardwicke Lord Chancellor, Lionel Cranfield Duke of Dorset Lord President, John Earl Gower Lord Privy-Seal, William Duke of Devonshire Lord Steward, Charles Duke of Grafton Lord Chamberlain, Charles Duke of Richmond Master of the Horse, John Duke of Bedford one of the principal Secretaries of State, John Duke of Montague Master General of the Ordnance, Archibald Duke of Argyll, Thomas Holles Duke of Newcastle another of the principal Secretaries of State, Henry Earl of Pembroke Groom of the Stole, John Earl of Sandwich first Commissioner of the Admiralty, William Earl of Harrington Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Richard Viscount Cobham Marshal of the British forces, and Henry Pelham, Esq; first Commissioner of the Treasury: as soon as his majesty had concluded the session of parliament, he immediately set out for Holland, where he was convoyed by a squadron commanded by Lord Anson, and arrived

at



**PART** at Helvoetsluys on the 22d of May; he proceeded directly to Maeslandluys, where he was  
**X.** met by her Royal Highness the Princess of Orange; and, after a short conference, his majesty set out for Utrecht, where he had an interview with his serene highness the Stadtholder, and Prince Frederic of Hesse, with whom he conferred some time, and then proceeded to Hanover, where he was soon afterwards followed by the Duke of Newcastle, who continued there with his majesty till the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace, which was not executed till the 7th of October.

1748.

ACCORDING to the convention, for furnishing the confederate troops for the campaign, which was executed on the 26th of January at the Hague, the allied army in Flanders, for the year 1748, was to consist of 192,000 effective men, to stop the progress of the French in the Netherlands, and to recover what was lost, if the means for obtaining a peace should happen to be ineffectual; of which the Empress-Queen was to furnish 60,000, his Britannic majesty 66,000, and the Dutch 66,000, exclusive of garrisons: the force to be employed in Italy was to consist of 60,000 Austrians, and 30,000 Piedmontese, besides garrisons: the former were to take the field in the Netherlands by the 1st of March, and the latter to begin the campaign in Italy on the 1st of May; with an exception to 10,000 Austrians who were to come up in April, and the 30,000 Russians, who were to come up as soon as they could, and of whom it was erroneously reported that they would be able to assist in opening the campaign.

As between contending nations no concession is made but through incapacity of resistance, and strength

strength is the rule of right, the powers at war CHAP.  
were endeavouring to intimidate each other by a I.  
parade of their forces, insinuating designs of  
more vigorous hostilities, with a view to obtain 1748.  
such advantages in the pacific congress, as were  
proportionate to their apparent abilities for the  
prosecution of the war. With this intention the  
Dutch published a placart for seizing all contra-  
band goods intended for the service of France ;  
another for encouraging Dutch privateers to act  
against the French; a third, to prohibit all the pro-  
duce of France, or sending provisions thither; and  
a fourth against insuring of ships belonging to the  
French; the province of Zealand even carried their  
resentment so high, as to denounce death against  
the subjects of a power, with whom they were  
not formally at war, if they were found within  
their ports or rivers, on any account but through  
absolute necessity; this was a resentment equal  
to the indignities that the republic had sustained,  
and had the conduct of their High Mightinesses  
kept up to their resolutions, France would have  
concluded a precipitate, instead of an artful,  
peace. The resistance of the Dutch was more  
the act of the populace, than the inclinations of  
the government; for their principal men seemed  
to enquire after nothing but the means by which  
danger might be avoided, and money might be  
saved; though, on the elevation of the Prince of  
Orange to the dignity of Stadtholder, he re-  
solved to convince the confederates that he chose  
to treat them as friends, by vigorously promot-  
ing the war: his serene highness gave suffi-  
cient instances of his disposition, by causing  
five millions of florins to be raised by the  
fiftieth penny, hiring of troops every where, and  
prohibiting the commerce with France; though  
he

he was restrained from acting with a spirit suitable to his rank, and the necessities of the state; unforeseen accidents had such an influence on the affairs of the republic, that the birth of a son and heir to his serene highness, after fourteen years marriage, was the only immediate portion of felicity tasted in Holland, the young Prince being born on the 26th of February, and called the Count de Buren. The Dutch populace, when they had obtained a head to their state, proceeded as fast as they could in destroying the members; so that no free circulation could remain in the body politic: they begun with the pachters, or farmers of the public revenue, and the taxes on provisions collected by them; of both which, by the sovereign weight which a determined multitude, artfully conducted, always brings with it, they procured the abolition; by which the state was left without resources, and the government, having only temporary expedients for the most pressing exigencies, could not make good its engagements. But this was not all; the same popular authority, which had divided the sinews of war, fell next upon the magistrates, whom they determined to remove; the States General were obliged to comply, and authorize the Prince Stadtholder, by himself or his deputies, to make such alterations in every place as he should see convenient; for his serene highness, in his speech to the assembly of the States of Holland and West Friesland, declared, "That  
 " however blameable these disturbances might  
 " be in their circumstances, it could not but be  
 " observed, that they did not proceed from a  
 " principle of disobedience; as it must be deemed, if the design was to shake of the public  
 " taxes

“ taxes destined for the service of the state : but CHAP.  
“ that, on the contrary, they still found the I.  
“ same zeal, the same eagerness, which were  
“ ever so conspicuous in the true citizens of these 1748.  
“ provinces, whenever it was found necessary  
“ to contribute voluntarily out of their own  
“ fortunes for the preservation of the state :  
“ sentiments, by which they had always distin-  
“ guished themselves from other nations, and of  
“ which no proof could be brought more re-  
“ cent, or more complete, than the joy and  
“ forwardness with which every one contributed  
“ to the free gift, and which was still paid with  
“ the same willingness : that he thought proper  
“ earnestly to request their noble and great  
“ mightinesses, to abolish the farms, and to  
“ employ their most speedy deliberations to find  
“ out, and put in execution, some other me-  
“ thods, which, without being more burthen-  
“ some to the inhabitants, might be introduced  
“ with success in lieu of the farms that should  
“ be suppressed ; for which purpose he recom-  
“ mended a poll tax, as one method which  
“ they might have recourse to.” However, the  
Prince of Orange made the necessary dispositions  
for assembling an army in the neighbourhood  
of Breda : the dignity of Stadtholder was made  
hereditary in his family, both in the male and  
female line ; the States General also presented  
his serene highness with a diploma, constituting  
him hereditary Stadtholder, and Captain-Gen-  
eral of Dutch Brabant, Flanders, and the Upper  
Quarter of Guelderland, a dignity never enjoyed  
by any of his predecessors ; and the East India  
company of the chambers of Amsterdam and Delft,  
also appointed him director and governor-gene-  
ral of their trade and settlements in the Indies.



THE Austrian regular forces amounted to 226,000 men, besides 80,000 irregulars ; but the empress queen was incapable of exerting her military strength, without a seasonable remittance of the pecuniary aids granted her by the British parliament ; which were too long retarded to bring the Austrian forces out of the remoter provinces, early enough to open the campaign ; for 150,000*l.* of this subsidy, was to be paid before the ratification, 100,000*l.* upon the exchange of the ratifications, and 50,000*l.* a month afterwards, though 100,000*l.* was reserved by way of check upon the musters of the Imperial troops. His Sardinian majesty still adhered to the confederacy, and was industriously employed in the military preparations for taking the field : of all the monarchs, engaged in this wide extended quarrel, he had been most frequently exposed to personal danger and loss ; the whole duchy of Savoy was still in possession of the Spaniards ; and though the war was likely to spread itself again into the territories of Piedmont, his Sardinian majesty still consulted the interest of his allies ; nor was he inclinable to accept of a cessation of arms without an indemnification for himself, and a substantial security for the dominions of the empress queen, who was of the same disposition. With regard to the smaller powers of Modena and Genoa, there was no doubt of their inclinations to peace ; but they was little attended to, because they must necessarily pursue the steps of their superior allies ; they felt all the calamities of war, without having any prospect of the advantage ; but weakness is seldom commiserated in political transactions, and their miseries little affected the counsels of mighty monarchies.

WHAT a damp must it strike upon France, CHAP.  
struggling with intestine want, to hear that I.  
the British nation, in one day, could raise so  
immense a sum as 6,300,000/! The French 1748.  
must naturally think that the British nation was  
very rich, and had no end to its credit, or that  
the government disregarded the national im-  
posts, and running in debt to posterity. The  
interruption of the French commerce multiplied  
the frequent bankruptcies in Marseilles and  
Bordeaux; the trade to the East and West In-  
dies was more depressed by the prohibition of  
insurance in England, and the importation of  
French manufactures of any kind into Holland;  
and some insurance companies set up at Lyons  
and Marseilles were speedily broke by the cap-  
tures of their Turkey ships: but as the Dutch  
memorials and placarts amounted to little less  
than a formal declaration of war, the French  
monarch ordered the Duke de Penthièvre,  
High Admiral of France, to empower the naval  
officers to make reprisals on the Dutch; though  
his majesty declared, that it was not his inten-  
tion to make the prohibition of commerce re-  
ciprocal, against the subjects of the republic.  
The sad effects of a despotic power were sen-  
sibly felt in the provinces of France, while the  
cries of the half-famished inhabitants saddened  
the festivity of triumphs: several arrets of the  
council of state appeared at Paris, about raising  
of money; by one of which the clergy of several  
districts, on prompt payment of a considerable  
sum, were exempted from the declaration of  
the 29th of August 1741, which ordered a tenth  
part of the revenues of all the estates of the  
kingdom, as well ecclesiastical as civil, to be  
levied: additional duties were laid upon tallow,  
hair-

PART hair-powder, white-wax, and paper ; which oc-

X. casioned the parliament of Paris to present a remonstrance to his majesty, informing him,

1748. “ That all things had their bounds and limits ;  
 “ and though their obedience knew none but  
 “ those of his power, yet there were periods at  
 “ which the power of monarchs would stop of  
 “ itself : That none of them were ignorant of  
 “ the extraordinary expences which the present  
 “ situation of affairs required of his majesty,  
 “ and they were sensible of the full extent of  
 “ their duty on this score : obliged to sacrifice  
 “ their very lives to the safety of the state,  
 “ how could they refuse it the tender of their  
 “ fortunes ? but it was not the imposts them-  
 “ selves that alarmed them, their nature and  
 “ duration only affrighted them, which made  
 “ them solicit his majesty to think of the po-  
 “ verty of his people, and, instead of further  
 “ oppressing them, to alleviate their misfor-  
 “ tunes.” To which his majesty answered,  
 “ That it was always with regret he loaded his  
 “ people with new impositions ; but, as necessity obliged him to it, to obtain for them the  
 “ benefit of peace, it was his will and pleasure,  
 “ that his parliament proceeded instantly to re-  
 “ gister the edict.” What a declension was  
 this from the primeval rights of the parliaments of France ! a parliament that once enjoyed the happy privilege of addressing their sovereigns, and remonstrating against the abuse of power, or mistakes in government : then their representations often brought deceitful ministers to justice, and rectified grievances either wickedly or ignorantly laid upon the subjects ; then the firmness and uncorrupt integrity of the members  
 of

of that august body, did honour to parliaments, and proved a bridle to the rapacity of their princes, so far down as the reign of Henry IV; who, on the 14th of May 1610, was stabbed by Ravillac the friar; but, ever since, they have hurried into slavery and oppression; Lewis XIII. began their subjection; the tyrannic reign of his successor Lewis XIV. rivetted their chains; and even now, under the government of LEWIS THE WELL BELOVED, they durst hardly give vent to their sighs, or open their mouths, but to praise the measures they intended to complain of. So great was the scarcity of corn in all the provinces of France, that nothing but insurrections were expected; and a mutiny did actually break out at Thoulouse, the capital of Languedoc, the "populace crying "that the belly had no ears, hunger had no loyalty;" but it was happily prevented by the arrival of twenty-five vessels, laden with English corn, in the river of Bourdeaux. The French monarch wanted grain to support his armies, as much as his predecessor did after the relief of Barcelona, the siege of Turin, and the battle of Ramillies: Lewis XIV. found a scarcity of corn prevented the success of his levies; upon which he issued money, and sent ships to Ægypt, Syria, Constantinople, and Barbary, whereby he filled the public magazines; and, while his Generals were surprized that he issued no orders about levies, he only commanded them to take care that his soldiers should have plenty of bread, and to publish it, every where, that such were the strict orders of his majesty; this invited the poor starving peasants to run to his standards, where they listed so fast, that, though the king wanted 80,000 men, the army was filled up without any expence for levies, besides twenty new regiments

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**PART** by way of augmentation : but Lewis XV. was in a

**X.** more deplorable situation, from the superiority  
 of the British fleets ; he therefore endeavoured  
 1748. to supply his wants from England and Ireland,  
 in which he found the dexterity of fortunately  
 succeeding, by the assistance of several mer-  
 chants, who regarded their own private pro-  
 perty before the general interest of the whole  
 community, which enabled the French mo-  
 narch to collect an army sufficient to make ano-  
 ther formidable campaign.





## CHAPTER II.

The opening of the campaign in the NETHERLANDS : the siege, and surrender, of MAESTRICHT, to the FRENCH ; the cessation of hostilities, in pursuance of the preliminary treaty of peace ; and the convention for the return of the RUSSIAN auxiliaries. The commencement, and suspension, of the military operations in ITALY.

**T**HE French were absolute masters of all the Netherlands between the Maese and the German ocean, excepting Maestricht, the siege of which was also projected, but discontinued by the battle of Val : the preservation of this important city was of the utmost consequence to the allies ; though, while the confederate army was assembling, the French were permitted to form the investiture of the place. The severity of the weather prevented the contending forces in the Netherlands from an early opening of the campaign, and the French relinquished

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PART. I. *linguished their project for invading the province*  
 X. *of Zealand : however, frequent skirmishes hap-*  
 1748. *pened between some detachments of the Dutch*  
*forces, and several parties of French, as they*  
*were escorting their convoys to the conquered*  
*places in Dutch Brabant. The Dutch General*  
*Haddick, who had intercepted two or three*  
*small convoys to Bergen-op-Zoom, having ad-*  
*vice that a very large one, which had been six*  
*weeks in preparing, was to set out, in the night*  
*of the 3d of March, for that place, he obtained*  
*a reinforcement of Prince Lewis of Wolfen-*  
*büttel ; and, after a fatiguing march, posted his*  
*parties so advantageously to intercept it, that a*  
*body of the garrison of Bergen-op-Zoom, headed*  
*by the Deputy Governor Count Vaux, coming*  
*out to take him in the rear, was first defeated,*  
*and the deputy governor, with about 900 of his*  
*men, taken prisoners : the Dutch general then*  
*attacked the convoy in two places, where he*  
*broke, and almost cut to pieces, five squadrons*  
*posted to sustain the French infantry, who*  
*were dispersed among the great number of wag-*  
*gons, of which many were taken, and the*  
*greatest part destroyed, the peasants having fled*  
*with their horses : but a large detachment, from*  
*the garrison of Antwerp, coming up, the Dutch*  
*general thought fit to retire, carrying off two*  
*pieces of cannon, with the deputy governor, and*  
*two other field officers, forty one inferior officers,*  
*and many other prisoners, making in all 937*  
*men ; the slain and wounded being computed at*  
*a much greater number ; though the Dutch had*  
*only twelve men killed, and little more than*  
*100 wounded and missing : they took great*  
*numbers of horned cattle, hogs, and sheep, with*  
*a large quantity of salt provisions ; which occa-*  
*sioned*

sioned such extremities in the garrison of Bergen-op-Zoom, that bread was eight pence, and fresh meat twelve or fourteen pence a pound; six-pence was the common price of an egg, and that too very often before it was laid; the inhabitants living on roots, and whatever vegetables they could pick up in the fields: however the French afterwards found an opportunity of escaping the vigilance of the Dutch commander, by throwing a grand convoy into Bergen-op-Zoom, that they might be under no apprehensions while Marshal Saxe was assembling the army of France for the reduction of Maelstricht, for which he had made the necessary dispositions, and was beginning to carry them into execution.

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THE principal object of the confederates in the preceding campaign, was the preservation of Maelstricht; which made it universally expected that sufficient care would be taken, whatever else was neglected, still to cover that important fortress, of which Marshal Bathiani, who again commanded the Austrian forces, very sensibly knew the value, and drew together, even sooner than was expected, a considerable body of Imperial troops, for its security; but, in this material service, he was unassisted by the other confederates, and was obliged to quit his situation as soon as the French made their appearance in the neighbourhood of the place. When the Dutch barrier, on the one hand, lay so ill exposed to the insults of the French; and, on the other, was so ill provided for a defence; it was requisite either for the Duke of Cumberland, or some British general of abilities, to have repaired to the Hague, and concerted the best measures, which the present exigence would ad-



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mit of, to cover and protect it; but this was neglected, notwithstanding Marshal Bathiani had sent a letter, on the 31st of January, to the British ministry, in which he urged the absolute necessity of the immediate presence and influence of the Duke of Cumberland at the Hague; declaring that he could do nothing without him; that the French were in great forwardness; that, as it was of great importance for the confederates to take the field soon, not a moment was to be lost; that the great point to be attended to, was the security of Maestricht, which would effectually put a stop to the progress of the French; that, with a body of 25,000 men, posted upon Mount St Pierre, and another of 45,000 men, on the other side of the Maese, he would undertake to cover it at the peril of his head; and pronounced, that this could not be done, unless the Duke of Cumberland came over in person, and acted in concert with the Prince of Orange: which requisition was not immediately attended to; the Duke of Cumberland did not set sail from Harwich till the 26th of February, nor did the additional troops from England set sail from the Nore till the 8th of March, when twenty-five sail of transports went over to Flanders with the additional troops and artillery; which were followed, on the 18th of April, by a draught from the foot guards of eight men out of each company, being 512 men.

WHILE the Duke of Cumberland was preparing the British forces for the field about Eyndoven, fifteen miles south of Boissedup; the Prince of Orange was assembling the Dutch at Breda, thirty miles N. W. of Eyndoven: but the former had not above 50,000 men, nor the latter

latter above 30,000 ; nor did the Austrians exceed the number of the Dutch ; by which the confederate army, instead of amounting to 192,000 men, as by the convention it should have done, consisted of only 110,000 ; though the French were ready to take the field with a superior force. A body of 70,000 French being assembled, between Mechlin and Louvain, were put in motion, by Marshal Saxe, on the 25th of March, and took the direct road, on the western side of the Maese, towards Tongres : at the same time several little corps and the whole garrison of Namur, being 45,000 men, began to march through the duchies of Luxemburg and Limberg, on the east side of the Maese. When the French were first in motion, the Austrian forces were on the eastern side of the Maese, which they immediately passed, with a view of occupying the retrenchments at Tongres, where they arrived on the 23d of March, and were joined by General Chanclos, who gallantly risked the favour of his sovereign, and perhaps of his head, by throwing twelve battalions into Maestricht, which if he had neglected to do, that town, so long threatened, so well known not only to be the first place destined to be attacked, but to be attacked as early as it was, would have been surprized with only four battalions in garrison, and must have surrendered as soon as the French appeared before the gates. The Austrians, on the 24th of March, retired towards Maseyk, to avoid being surrounded ; but, for the conveniency of joining the other confederates, they soon proceeded to Roermond, and encamped in that neighbourhood, twenty-five miles north of Maestricht, where they were soon after joined by the forces under the com-

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mand of the Duke of Cumberland: while the French, with little or no disturbance, formed the investiture of Maestricht, on the 3d of April 1748. in the evening.

MAESTRICHT is a strong and populous city, in the province of Brabant, belonging to the Dutch, situate on the west side of the river Maese, thirteen miles north of Liege, and thirty-five east of Louvain: but the Wyck, or suburb, which lies on the east side of the river, and is joined to the town by a fine bridge 100 foot long, is in the bishopric of Liege, and subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop, though the whole was garrisoned by the Dutch. This city is one of the strongest fortresses, and the principal key of the republic, upon the Maese: it was formerly surrounded only with an old sort of a wall; but when the States General became masters of it they fortified it; and the French, while it was in their hands, made great additions to the fortifications: the ramparts are three miles in circumference, consisting of an old wall filled up with earth, and flanked with several little towers and old fashioned bastions; but its principal strength lies in several detached bastions, some great and others small, in horn-works, and crown-works, and in a covered way, which in some places is double, in others trebble; all which works are undermined; and it is made more difficult of access by two considerable inundations, formed by means of the river Jaar. Wyck, the suburb, is also well fortified, its rampart being three quarters of a mile in compass, flanked by three large bastions joined to the body of the place, with another inclosure of earth, flanked by several bastions and ravelins, and also a good covered way. Above the bridge

bridge is Werdt Island, fortified with redoubts; CHAP.  
and below is the island St Anthony, surrounded II.  
with walls of blue stone. Within two musket-

shot of the town, towards Liege, stands Fort St 1748.  
Pierre, upon the brow of a hill of the same

name, which faces the town, consisting of a large bastion with casements, having a counter-scarp and covered way; it has also lines of communication and intrenchments, both on the right and left, reaching to the inundation formed by the Jaar between the fort and the town, which is computed to contain about 3,000 houses, and, exclusive of the garrison, about 13,000 inhabitants. This city had undergone five considerable sieges: the first in 1579, when, having declared for the confederacy, the Duke of Parma took it, after a siege of four months; who caused it to be pillaged, and permitted above 8,000 of the inhabitants to be murdered in a miserable manner: the second siege was in 1632, when Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange, retook it from the Spaniards, in two months and twelve days: the third siege, which was undertaken by the Marquis d'Aytone, in 1634, was raised: the fourth siege was in 1673, when it was taken by Lewis XIV. of France, after thirteen days open trenches: the fifth was undertaken by the Prince of Orange, afterwards King William III. in 1676, which he was obliged to raise, after an attack of fifty-one days: however, the place was restored to the States General, in 1678, by the treaty of Nimeguen.

THE French artillery, which met with great impediments, being come up, in the night between the 15th and 16th of April, they opened the trenches, and formed there attacks, the one at



PART the gate of Tongres, another at Fort St Pierre,  
 X. and the third on the Wyck ; in which they  
 were defeated, with the loss of 1,400 men. Ba-  
 1748. ron d'Aylva, the Dutch governor, gallantly de-  
 fended the place ; the French artillery was per-  
 petually playing ; and the garrison made a ter-  
 rible destruction among the besiegers : on the  
 19th of April, the garrison sallied out and killed  
 600 of the French, filled part of the trenches,  
 and destroyed two batteries : the night between  
 the 25th and 26th, they made another sally,  
 tore up the besiegers gabions, and levelled part  
 of their works : however, the French, in spite  
 of a most resolute defence, advanced their works  
 towards the covered way, which they attacked,  
 between the 28th and 29th, with 16,000 men,  
 headed by the Marshals Saxe and Lowendahl,  
 who, after a vigorous resistance, carried it, with  
 the loss of 900 grenadiers, and 1,200 men of  
 the battalions : but, during this attack, Ba-  
 ron d'Aylva made a sally, on the Wyck side,  
 which succeeded beyond expectation ; for he  
 nailed up fourteen pieces of cannon, and killed  
 about 1,000 men : nor did he stop here, but,  
 on the 30th, drove the French entirely out of  
 the covered way again. The French had lost  
 about 6,000 men, since the commencement of  
 the siege, by the fire and sallies of the garri-  
 son ; besides 5,000 men more through the in-  
 clemency of the weather, inundations in the  
 camp, and want of necessaries ; but the confe-  
 derates never attempted to raise the siege : the  
 governor, being assisted by Austrian troops,  
 shewed his resolution of obstinately defending  
 the place ; and the besiegers were determined to  
 carry it at the expence of half their army, ra-  
 ther than sully the credit of their victorious  
 arms

arms with a disgraceful repulse: a terrible de-  
struction was likely to ensue, but the insatiate  
appetite of war was prevented by the prelimina-  
ry articles of peace, signed on the 19th of  
April; upon which Marshal Saxe, and the go-  
vernor, agreed to a cessation of arms for two  
days, the marshal declaring that he would be  
willing to consent to any thing for the preserva-  
tion of the brave garrison. Notwithstanding this  
gallant defence, Maestricht, instead of falling an  
honourable prize to the sword, was to be dis-  
posed of by the pacificators at Aix la Chapelle:  
a messenger was sent to the Duke of Cumber-  
land, who sent another to Marshal Saxe, and  
the world was informed that this important  
place was to be given up to the French; though  
it could be only as a salvo to the honour of  
France, and to promote a good correspondence  
between the negociators: accordingly the town  
was surrendered, on the 3d of May, the Garri-  
son marching out with all the honours of war;  
though it had been previously agreed, that the  
French should restore it again, with all the  
magazines and artillery, and, in the mean time,  
to pay for every thing they should want in the  
place with ready money.

As soon as the signature of the preliminaries  
were communicated to the commanders of the  
contending armies, a cessation of all hostili-  
ties ensued; for, by the seventeenth article of  
the preliminary treaty, it was stipulated, "That  
all hostilities at land should cease in the space  
of six weeks, to be reckoned from the day  
of signing the articles:" in pursuance of  
which the French and confederate armies re-  
tired behind cordons, or imaginary lines; the  
cordon of the allies reaching from Steenberg,  
across

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across Brabant, to the Roermond ; the French cordon beginning at Bergen-op-Zoom, and stretching along the Great Nethe, and the Demer, to Reckem, and along the Gueule : the distance of these lines being from ten to twenty miles, beyond which no person was permitted to go without a passport.

THE Russians, granted by the Czarina for the assistance of the confederates, had been advancing, under the command of Prince Repnin, since the beginning of the year, from Livonia, the most western province belonging to the Russian dominions, and passed the frontiers of Lithuania, on the 13th of February, in their march to Germany, where they were met by General Moradant and Colonel Durand, who were appointed by his Britannic majesty to conduct them to the Netherlands. Though these forces were to be only 30,000 in the field, they consisted of near 40,000 on the march, and were not less than 37,000 when they came into Moravia ; where, on the 20th of May, the first and second columns were reviewed by their Imperial Majesties, at Brinn and Holitschen, who were highly pleased at their fine appearance, and exact discipline, and ordered 1,000 florins to each regiment. The march of the Russians through the Imperial territories, though in the character of auxiliaries to the Emperor, and Elector of Hanover, was contradictory to the fundamental laws of the Empire ; but, as it was no more than what the French had done, at the commencement of the war, the princes and states of the Germanic body made no attempt to hinder their march ; even his Prussian Majesty, who it was suspected had kept a numerous army on foot for this only purpose, never endeavoured to obstruct their passage ; and they were quietly permitted to

ad-

advance on the borders of Franconia, after a march of 700 miles, where they were ordered to halt, on the menace of the French to demolish the fortifications of Maestricht and Bergen-op-Zoom, if they advanced any farther: the matter was referred to the decision of the British, French, and Dutch plenipotentiaries at the congress at Aix la Chapelle; who, on the 2d of August, concluded a convention with respect to the Russian troops, whereby it was agreed, " That in

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" order the more speedily to reach the but of a  
" general pacification, and to give reciprocal  
" proofs of the sincere desire their Britannic and  
" most Christian majesties, and the Lords the  
" States General had to execute the preliminaries of the 19th of April last; his Britannic  
" majesty and the States General, immediately  
" after the signature of this convention, should  
" send orders to the auxiliary corps of 37,000  
" Russians in their pay, and actually in march  
" through Germany towards the Low Countries,  
" to return immediately towards Russia; and  
" that the said corps of Russian troops should  
" return thither as soon as possibly they could,  
" according to the conditions of the treaty concluded and signed at Petersburgh, the 7th of  
" November last, betwixt his Britannic majesty  
" and the States General on one side, and her  
" Imperial majesty of all the Russias on the  
" other; and that it should not be permitted to  
" the said Russian troops, upon any pretext, to  
" march any farther towards the Low Countries: And that his most Christian majesty,  
" immediately after the signature of this convention, should send into the interior of  
" France, a like number of regular troops then  
" in the Low Countries, as well infantry as  
" horse and dragoons, of which a list should be  
" given



“ given at the same time to the ministers plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty and the States General at Aix la Chapelle : which troops, or a like number, his most Christian majesty should reform in a month after he knew, in an authentic manner, of the actual departure of the said body of Russian troops towards Russia ; and his said most Christian majesty should communicate to his Britannic majesty and the States General, this reform within a month. That his Britannic majesty and the States General of the United Provinces engaged moreover, that the said auxiliaries should not be employed in the service of any other power while they were in their pay, and that in case they would not return into their own country before the expiration of the first year for which they were engaged, and during which, according to treaty, they were still to remain in their pay and service, it was expressly stipulated that they might not be employed, under any pretext whatsoever, either against his most Christian majesty, or his allies, after the reform above-mentioned was made, and executed, in the troops paid by his most Christian majesty.” The substance of this convention was immediately put into execution : the 37,000 French were withdrawn into Picardy ; and the Russians not only underwent the mortification of being dictated to by the power they came to oppose, but to be disgraced by those they came to succour ; though, the season being unfit for the repetition of their extraordinary march, they had winter-quarters granted them in Bohemia and Moravia, from whence they returned, on the abatement of the weather, to Livonia, having

lost their commander, and some thousands of the CHAP.  
men, before their arrival in Russia. II.

THE French and confederate armies continued quietly behind the respective cordons, till 1748.  
the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace, but the war was open for a longer continuance in Italy.

THE French and Spaniards began early to reinforce their troops in the state of Genoa; several convoys arrived at that port, from Antibes and Monaco, and landed their men, with little interruption; so that the French, Spaniards, and Genoese, had an army of 30,000 men in the heart of the republic, commanded by the Duke de Richlieu, exclusive of independent companies, the militia, and armed peasants: but General Brown, at the head of 48,000 men, was preparing to re-enter the Eastern Riviera, and recommence the siege of Genoa. Marshal Belleisle was extending his army, which consisted of 50,000 French and Spaniards, for the security of the Western Riviera, which was threatened with an invasion by General Leutrum, at the head of 40,000 Austrians and Piedmontese: but, before the commencement of hostilities, an insurrection happened in Sardinia, spirited up by the French and Spaniards, which however was happily terminated; and an expedition projected against the island of Corsica was also frustrated, by the bravery of the Marquis Spinola, the Genoese governor of Bastia, who obliged the invaders to retire from that capital. Count Brown, after several skirmishes on the borders of the republic of Genoa, penetrated into the Eastern Riviera; and General Nadaſti made an attempt to surprize Voltri, where he was defeated with the loss of 400 men: during this time, Marshal Belleisle  
and

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and General Leutrum had intelligence of the preliminary treaty; upon which the cessation of hostilities, between the French and Piedmontese in the Western Riviera, was settled, and limits set to both armies: on the 30th of May, General Brown received a letter from the Duke de Richlieu, with a copy of the act of accession of the Empress-Queen to the preliminaries; which produced some conferences between the generals, who, on the 4th of June, agreed to a suspension of arms, the river Vara, in the Eastern Riviera, being the limit between the two armies: the suspension of arms was also published in Corsica, by which the republic of Genoa was in a state of tranquility, though extremely embarrassed at the withdrawing the monthly subsidy, of 250,000 livres, paid her by France.



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## CHAPTER III.

The naval war in the WEST INDIES : the taking of PORT LOUIS, by Rear-Admiral KNOWLES ; his ineffectual attempt on ST JAGO DE CUBA ; and his engagement with the SPANISH Admiral, off the HAVANNA. The conduct of Rear-Admiral Griffin, in the EAST INDIES. The naval transactions in the EUROPEAN seas, till the cessation of hostilities. The siege of PONDICHERRY ; and an account of the respective captures, since the commencement of the war.

THE signal successes of the naval arms of Britain, were too severely felt by the French for them to be in a condition of making any resistance in the American seas. Rear-Admiral Knowles was sent, from Cape Breton,

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PART to command the British squadron at Jamaica;

X. where he formed a design of attacking St Jago de Cuba; for which place he set sail from Port

1748. Royal, on the 13th of February, with eight ships of the line, strengthened with a detachment, of 240 men, from the regiment commanded by Governor Trelawney, who accompanied the admiral in the expedition: but the winds continuing northerly, so as to prevent the ships approaching on the coast of Cuba, it was agreed to make an attempt upon the French at Port Louis, on the south side of Hispaniola, where the admiral arrived, on the 8th of March, with the following squadron:

Ships	Commanders	Men	Guns
Cornwall	{ Rear-Adm <sup>r</sup> Knowles }	600	80
	{ Capt. Chadwick }		
Plymouth	Dent	400	60
Elizabeth	Taylor	400	64
Canterbury	Brodie	400	60
Strafford	Rentone	400	60
Warwick	Innes	400	60
Worcester	Andrews	400	60
Oxford	Toll	300	50

Weasel and Merlin sloops.

PORT LOUIS was a fort all of stone, the merlons seven feet thick on the top, standing on an island about a mile from the town of St Louis; there were seventy-eight guns mounted in the fort, mostly 42, 36, and 28 pounders, besides five mortars, with great quantities of all kind of ammunition and stores: the garrison consisted of 600 men, commanded by Monsieur Chaleau-noye, who brought three companies of soldiers into the town the night before the attack.

REAR-

REAR-ADMIRAL KNOWLES immediately CHAP. III.  
made a disposition of his ships for the attack, which was began on the 8th of March about one o'clock in the afternoon, within almost pistol shot of the walls: the cannonading was very warm from the garrison during the time the squadron was advancing; but as soon as the ships employed in the attack were got in their stations, and moored in a close line a-head, they returned the fire with great violence and success; though Capt Rentone, in the Strafford, was killed by a shot which took off his thigh before his ship came to an anchor. A strong fire was reciprocally maintained, and the garrison set fire to a ship, which they endeavoured to drop on board the Cornwall, or the Elizabeth; but boats were sent off which towed the fireship clear, and took possession of two other vessels designed for the same purpose; notwithstanding the French musketry played very smartly on the boats all the time. After a warm cannonading, for about three hours, Rear-Admiral Knowles found the French were drove from their guns and silenced; upon which he summoned the governor to surrender; who soon sent an officer off with propositions, which the admiral rejected, and sent back the officer with a copy of the conditions, which he would allow, giving the governor but an hour to determine on them; within which time they were accepted, and consisted of the following articles:

"THAT the governor should surrender instantly the fort up to the admiral, and no military officer or soldier in it to serve against his Britannic majesty, or his allies, for the space of a year and a day.

N n 2

"THAT,

“THAT, on these conditions, the admiral consented that the garrison should march out with their arms, colours flying, and drums beating; but without cannon, mortars, or any ammunition whatsoever.

“THAT all the officers should be allowed to carry such baggage as, upon honour, was their own, but subject to be inspected, if demanded; and that all the negroes and mulattoes, that were absolutely their servants or property, the admiral would compliment them with; but all other negroes and mulattoes, that were in the fort, should be delivered up as right of capture, together with the fort, and all the cannon, munitions, and appurtenances.

“THAT, upon these conditions, the admiral agreed, that, in the evening, the garrison might march out as before-mentioned; at the same time the keys of the castle should be delivered up to the officer whom he sent to take possession, and the troops of his Britannic majesty should march in as the others marched out.

“THAT, for what lenity the admiral was disposed to shew the town and inhabitants, the conditions should be settled, between the governor and him, the next day.”

IN consequence of which, Major Scot, who commanded the detachment of soldiers from Jamaica, was sent on shore to take possession of the fort; the troops were immediately landed; and marched in according to the capitulation: the garrison had 160 men killed and wounded; the loss on board the ships was only 70 killed and wounded, but among the former was the brave Capt Rentone, and the gallant Capt Cust who

who went a volunteer in the expedition. The rear-admiral found three ships, a snow, and three privateer sloops, in the harbour, which he took possession of; but as the fort was not worth keeping, he blew it up; and, after settling the conditions for the security of the town, proceeded to put in execution his first design against St Jago de Cuba, where the Squadron arrived on the 5th of April. Capt Dent of the Plymouth, being the senior captain, demanded, as his right, that he might go in first, seconded by the Cornwall; but, on his approach, he found a boom across the harbour; also two large ships, and two small ones, filled with combustibles, and ready to set fire on the first attempt to break the chain: the ships fired several broadsides at the castle, and the Cornwall had some men killed: but Capt Dent consulting his officers, it was agreed that they must lose their ships, if they attempted to break the chain; and, therefore the rear-admiral relinquished the enterprize, and returned to Jamaica; but so greatly disappointed, that, on their return to England, Capt Dent was tried by a court martial, on an accusation, exhibited by the rear-admiral, for misconduct, from which he was honourably acquitted: though the conduct of Admiral Vernon, when the attempt was made against St Jago de Cuba in 1741, might have satisfied Rear-Admiral Knowles, of the impracticability of entering the harbour, and attacking the place by sea.

REAR-ADMIRAL KNOWLES gave great security to the Jamaica trade; and Commodore Pocock, who succeeded Commodore Legge on the leeward station, not only protected the trade to the Charibbee Islands, but blocked up the French in Martinico, and reduced them to the



PART greatest necessity; though nothing else, more

X. material than reciprocal captures, happened in  
 any part of America, till the engagement be-  
 1748. tween the British and Spanish squadrons off the

Havanna. Rear-Admiral Knowles, on the 28th of August, began to cruize off the Tortuga banks, to intercept the Spanish annual plate fleet from La Vera Cruz, daily expected at the Havanna: upon which Don Andre Reggio, the Spanish Admiral, set sail from the Havanna to engage the British squadron, and protect the plate fleet from La Vera Cruz. Admiral Reggio, on the 29th of September, having discovered, at a distance, a convoy of fourteen sail, escorted by two ships of war, and steering towards the Bahama channel, ordered two of his ships to chace them, and followed himself with the rest of the squadron in line of battle. The convoy had left Jamaica on the 25th of August, under the escort of the *Lenox* man of war, commanded by Capt Holmes, who observed the Spanish squadron, and made a signal for his convoy to save themselves as well as they could; while he endeavoured to join Rear-Admiral Knowles, which he did the next morning, and informed him of what had happened; upon which the rear-admiral made sail to meet the Spaniards, and came up with them on the 1st of October, in the morning, between the Tortugas and the Havanna; when both the squadrons prepared for an engagement; and consisted of the following ships.

The

# Engaged in the late General War.

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## The British Squadron.

Ships	Commanders	Guns	Men
Cornwall	Rear-Adm. Knowles	80	600
Lenox, 70 guns but only 56 aboard	Capt. Taylor		
	Holmes	56	400
Tilbury	Powlett	60	400
Strafford	Brodie	60	400
Warwick	Innes	60	400
Canterbury	Clarke	60	400
Oxford	Toll	50	300
Total		426	2,900

## The Spanish Squadron.

Ships	Commanders	Guns	Men
Africa	Vice-Adm. Reggio	74	710
Invincible	Rear-Adm. Spinola	74	700
Conquistadore	Don de St Justo	64	610
Dragon	de la Pas	64	610
New Spain	Barella	64	610
Royal Family	Forrestal	64	610
Galga	Garrecocha	36	300
Total		440	4,150

THE Spanish admiral immediately formed his line of battle, the Invincible leading the van, followed by the Conquistadore; the Africa, and Dragon, in the center; the New Spain, and Royal Family, in the rear; and the Galga frigate without the line. Rear-Admiral Knowles had formed his disposition by placing the Tilbury in the van, followed by the Strafford; the Cornwall, and Lenox, in the center; the Warwick, and Canterbury, in the rear; with the Oxford out of the line. Admiral Reggio waited for Admiral Knowles, who, notwithstanding he

had the advantage of the wind, did not appear to make use of it till about two o'clock, when the Spaniards began to fire, though at too great a distance to do any execution: but soon afterwards the British admiral made the signal for the *Tilbury* to bear down nearer the Spaniards; the *Strafford* followed; the *Cornwall* edged down close upon the Spanish vice-admiral; the *Lenox* made up to the *Dragon*; and, about half an hour after two, the action began, with a brisk fire on both sides; though the Spaniards had the advantage, because the *Warwick* and *Canterbury* were too far a-stern to fire a shot for upwards of two hours. Rear-Admiral Knowles, having singled out Admiral Reggio, and being got within pistol-shot, discharged all his artillery, and musketry, at the *Africa*, with eight cohornes; but he was so warmly received by the Spanish admiral, that, after having been something more than half an hour in action, he was obliged to fall a-stern of his own squadron, with the loss of his main-top-mast, and the yard shot in two, by which he was unable to come into the line again. So auspicious a beginning seemed to promise the Spanish admiral a complete victory: but the *Conquestadore*, having her main-top-sail-ties shot, was obliged to drop a-stern of the Spanish squadron; where Rear-Admiral Knowles, having re-fitted his ship, came down to attack her: the action, between the *Cornwall* and the *Conquestadore*, was long and bloody, in which Don de St Justo, the Spanish captain was killed; but the second captain, who made a gallant defence, did not surrender the ship till the grana-  
 de shells had set her on fire three several times, when the *Conquestadore* struck. At the time the *Cornwall* retired out of the line, the *Lenox* shot

shot up into her place, a-breast of the Spanish admiral, where Captain Holmes had excessive hot work; having three of the Spanish ships playing upon him above an hour; when the Warwick and Canterbury came up, very seasonably to his assistance. The action was now closer and warmer than ever, and continued so till eight in the evening; when the Spaniards edged away towards the Havanna, it being but a little distance from them: the British ships bore after, doing great execution, being yard-arm and yard-arm; but the Spanish squadron, though greatly disabled, got into Port, except the Conquestadore which was taken, and the Africa, which had lost all her masts but the Bow-sprit, and even that was shot through in five places: in this condition Vice-Admiral Reggio received several broadsides from the Lenox, which obliged him to run his ship on shore in the gulph of Xixiras, where he immediately began to refit her in order to get into the Havanna; in which he would have succeeded if the British squadron, which had been parading with the Conquestadore in sight of the Havanna till all their ships were new rigged, had not surprized him on the third of October; whereupon he resolved to set fire to the Africa, rather than see her in the hands of the British admiral; and she soon afterwards blew up. The Spaniards had eighty-six men killed, and 197 wounded, in the battle; among the former were Don Thomas de St Justo captain of the Conquestadore, Don Vincent de Quintana second captain of the Africa, with Don Pedro Garrecocha the captain of the Galga; and among the latter was Admiral Reggio, with fourteen other officers: the Eng-

1748.



PART list had fifty-nine men killed, and 120 wounded;  
 X. but no officer among them.

1748. THE British admiral, after the destruction of the *Africa*, returned to his parade off the *Havanna*, in expectation of intercepting the galleons, on board of which was a treasure of forty millions of dollars: but all these hopes were frustrated with the news of the preliminary articles of peace, by which all hostilities were ceased. Admiral Knowles, and his officers, concerned in the battle with the Spanish admiral, were highly disgusted with the conduct of one another during the engagement: some of the officers sided with the admiral; inactivity gave increase to their resentment; and mutual recriminations were urged with the greatest acrimony: these dissensions were maintained with such a spirit of vehemence, as to be continued till their arrival in England, where the affair was thought worthy of the public consideration; and, accordingly, the lords of the admiralty appointed a court martial to examine into the conduct of Rear-Admiral Knowles, and such of his officers who had been charged with misconduct. Admiral Rowley, as president, opened the court martial, on board the *Charlotte* yacht at Deptford, on the 11th of December 1749, assisted by Sir Edward Hawke, Rear-Admiral Forbes, and five captains belonging to the navy, when the trial of Rear-Admiral Knowles came on, which continued for eight days following, when the court, on the 20th of December, unanimously agreed,  
 “ That it appeared that Rear-Admiral Knowles,  
 “ by forming the line to the northward, upon  
 “ seeing the Spaniards in the morning, acted  
 “ properly, and like an officer; but, while he  
 “ was standing for the Spaniards, he might, by  
 “ a different

“ a different disposition of his Squadron, have CHAP.  
“ begun the attack with six ships, as early in III.  
“ the day as four of them were engaged; and ~~~~~  
“ that, therefore, by his neglecting to do so, 1748.  
“ he gave the Spaniards a manifest advantage :  
“ but in the situation the Squadron was at the  
“ time the Tilbury returned the Spanish fire,  
“ the rear-admiral seemed to have acted pro-  
“ perly in making the signal for battle, and be-  
“ ginning the engagement then as he did :  
“ That it appeared the Cornwall continued in  
“ close and smart action better than an hour,  
“ and that Rear-Admiral Knowles remained on  
“ board her, with his Flag, after she was dis-  
“ abled from continuing the Action, though  
“ he might, upon her being disabled, have  
“ shifted his flag on board another ship; and  
“ the court were unanimously of opinion,  
“ that he ought to have done so, in order to  
“ have conducted and directed, during the  
“ whole action, the motions of the Squadron en-  
“ trusted to his care and conduct : but as, it ap-  
“ peared that Rear-Admiral Knowles expressed  
“ great earnestness and zeal to get into action,  
“ and, while the Cornwall was engaged, shewed  
“ great personal courage; the court unanimou-  
“ ly thought, that his not removing his flag  
“ arose from mistake, and not from backward-  
“ ness to bring his person into action; and,  
“ upon consideration of the whole conduct of  
“ Rear-Admiral Knowles, relating to the ac-  
“ tion, the court unanimously agreed, that he  
“ failed under part of the fourteenth article of  
“ the articles of war, namely the word *negligence*,  
“ and also under the twenty-third article. And  
“ the court did, therefore, unanimously adjudge,  
“ That he should be reprimanded for not bring-  
ing

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“ing up the Squadron in closer order than he did, and not beginning the attack with as great force as he might have done, and also for not shifting his flag upon the Cornwall’s being disabled: and he was thereby reprimanded accordingly.” Some of the captains were also tried, and acquitted; but it was not sufficient to pacify their animosity: several challenges were given on this occasion, particularly one by Captain Clarke to Captain Innes, that brought on a duel which terminated in the death of the latter, who was shot in Hyde Park; for which the former was tried at the Old Baily, where he was convicted of, and received sentence of death for, the murder; though his majesty was afterwards pleased to grant him a free pardon.

THE naval war in the East Indies was suspended by Rear-Admiral Griffin, till the arrival of Rear-Admiral Boscawen, with the reinforcement of ships, and men for the service of the British company: though the French were permitted to supply their settlement, at Pondicherry, with every thing for defending the place, against the siege, which was expected on the arrival of Admiral Boscawen. Rear-Admiral Griffin prevented the French from attacking Fort St David, where he continued with his Squadron, which consisted of three Ships of sixty guns, two of fifty, two of forty, one of thirty-eight, two of thirty two, one of twenty, and two tenders, having 3,065 men on board. While Rear-Admiral Griffin lay at anchor under the walls of Fort St David, the French Squadron was discovered, on the 9th of June, by the captain of the *Lively* man of war, off of Negapatam, who immediately proceeded to Fort St David

St David to give this intelligence to the admiral. CHAP.  
The French Squadron consisted of one ship of III.  
seventy guns, one of sixty-four, one of fifty-  
four, one of fifty, two of forty, and three fri-  
gates, having 5,200 men on board ; which, on 1748.  
the 10th of June, made their appearance within  
four leagues of Fort St David : whereupon  
Rear-Admiral Griffin summoned a council of  
war, when it was resolved to proceed to sea im-  
mediately ; but this resolution was so long re-  
tarded that the French Squadron got out of  
fight before the British Squadron came out of the  
harbour : though Rear-Admiral Griffin, at one  
the next morning, weighed anchor, and stood  
to the N. E. with an easy sail, and, about six,  
anchored, with seven of his Squadron and two  
Indiamen, within three leagues of Pondicherry,  
with an expectation of meeting the French :  
the British Squadron lay there till four in the af-  
ternoon, when a signal was made for a council  
of war, when it was agreed to go to Madras,  
and, if possible, to be there by day-break : but,  
by this unfortunate delay, the French arrived at  
Madras, where they landed their men, money,  
and stores, and sailed again from thence before  
the British Squadron appeared before it. Rear-  
Admiral Griffin afterwards returned to Fort St  
David, where, on the 29th of July, Rear-Ad-  
miral Boscawen made his arrival, and assumed  
the command, while Rear-Admiral Griffin was  
preparing to return to England.

NOTHING happened, this year, in the Me-  
diterranean, more material than the intercep-  
tion of the French and Genoese barks, by Ad-  
miral Byng, who received a letter from the  
Duke of Newcastle, dated on the 11th of July,  
whereby he was informed, " That the King of  
" Spain,



“ Spain, and the republic of Genoa, having acceded in form to the preliminaries signed at Aix la Chapelle, it was agreed that all hostilities should immediately cease in Italy : and that his orders were to inform him, the intention of the king was, that, as soon as he received this letter, he should send orders to the commanders of all the British ships in the Mediterranean, not to commit any more hostilities against the subjects of France, Spain, and Genoa.” The admiral received orders to return to England, and to leave only seven men of war in the Mediterranean ; he arrived at Spithead on the 13th of October, and six ships of the line were sent to reinforce the squadron he had left behind him on the coast of Italy.

REAR-ADMIRAL HAWKE, on the 16th of January, set sail from Plymouth with a squadron of nine ships of the line, to cruize on the coast of France ; where, on the 31st of January, he descried a sail, about break of day, to leeward, and ordered the Nottingham of sixty guns, commanded by Captain Harland, and the Portland of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Stevens, to give chase. After a long pursuit, the Nottingham came up with the chate, and fired several guns to bring her to ; but she paid no respect : the Nottingham then run up close along-side, and began a vigorous attack ; she then brought to, hoisted a French jack, gave the Nottingham a broadside, and a brisk firing ensued, which continued two hours ; when the Portland came up, exchanged a broadside, and sheered off : the Nottingham still maintained the fight against a ship of superior force, and so greatly disabled her in her masts and rigging that she began to retreat,

retreat, but being closely followed she was obliged to renew the engagement, when the Portland bore down again, and engaged almost an hour, and then stood off: upon which the Nottingham, being greatly disabled, came up with the Portland, when the two captains consulted in what manner to renew the battle; but their antagonist observing them in council, and seeing them bear down together, more formidable, as more in concert, than before, struck just as the day was gone. The British captains, to their great satisfaction, found their prize to be the Magnanime, a French man of war of 74 guns, and 700 men, commanded by the Marquis d'Albert, chef d'Escadre of a squadron which sailed from Brest on the 13th of January, consisting of the Magnanime, the Alcide of sixty-four guns, the Arc-en-ciel of fifty-four, and a frigate, which were to be joined at Cadiz, or the Cape de Verd Islands, by the Conquerant of seventy guns, the Content of sixty-four, and l'O-rislane of fifty-four, from Toulon, to proceed to the East Indies, with supplies for the defence of Pondicherry and Madras, against Admiral Boscawen. The Nottingham was engaged six hours with the Magnanime; the former had sixteen men killed, and eighteen wounded, the Portland had four men wounded; and the French had 45 men killed, and 105 wounded. Sir Peter Warren, on the 13th of April, was also sent from Spithead, upon a cruize, with a strong squadron of English and Dutch men of war; but he met with nothing material; and, on the 9th of May, the Spence sloop was dispatched with express to Sir Peter Warren and Sir Edward Hawke to return to England, in pursuance of the preliminaries, who arrived at Spithead

PART Spithead on the 24th of July. Commodore

X. Townsend, who succeeded Rear-Admiral Mitchell in the command of the squadron stationed at

1748.

Flushing for the defence of Zealand, also received orders, on the 16th of May, to commit no more hostilities against the French : by which all the blaze of war was extinguished ; though the British government took care to keep up the maritime force in the respective stations ; for which purpose Rear-Admiral Watson, on the 9th of June, set sail from Spithead, with a squadron for Cape Breton, and the outward-bound ships for the West Indies : seven ships belonging to the East India company from China, and one from Bencoolen, made a safe arrival, on the 9th of July, in the harbour of Leith in Scotland : the Dreadnought and Sutherland men of war arrived in the Downs, on the 23d of August, with the trade from Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, consisting of 136 sail : and all the mercantile interest of Britain was securely guarded where-ever her commerce extended.

By the sixteenth article of the preliminary treaty of peace, concluded between the British, French, and Dutch ministers at Aix la Chapelle, on the 19th of April, it was agreed, " That all " hostilities should cease at sea, in the time mentioned in an act signed at Paris, on the 19th " of August 1712 : " which act was the convention for a cessation of arms previous to the treaty of Utrecht, whereby it was stipulated, that hostilities should cease at the expiration of twelve days, from the day of the signature of the preliminaries, for the channel and northern seas ; six weeks from those seas to Cape St Vincent in Portugal ; six weeks more from that cape to the equinoctial line ; and six months from the day

day of signing the preliminaries to any place beyond the line, and in all parts of the world : CHAP. III.  
but the court of Madrid, and the republic of Genoa, did not accede to the preliminaries, till the 17th of June ; and then the cessation of hostilities was limited with regard to them, in the same manner as with the French. This entirely prevented any other naval engagements in the European and American seas ; but Admiral Boscawen undertook the siege of Pondicherry, before any intelligence of the preliminaries arrived in the East Indies. 1748.

ON the arrival of Rear-Admiral Boscawen at Fort St David, his squadron consisted of nine ships of the line, besides two frigates, a sloop, and two tenders, having 3580 sailors on board ; so that it was determined immediately to undertake the siege of Pondicherry : upon which he immediately set about landing the necessary stores and troops from the ships, and formed a camp about a mile from Fort St David, where the troops were reinforced by the marines serving in the squadron of Rear-Admiral Griffin ; by which the army consisted of 3,690 soldiers, and 148 artillery people, exclusive of 120 Dutch, lent from their settlements, and 2,000 Indians ; who were vigilantly making preparations for marching over land to Pondicherry ; where they were to be conducted by the rear-admiral ; while the management afloat was left to Captain Lisle of the *Vigilant*, who had orders to anchor, with the whole squadron, two miles to the southward of Pondicherry, and remain there till farther orders : Captain Pawler, of the *Exeter*, being sent before, on the 1st of August, to anchor off the town, and two days after the *Chichester*, *Pembroke*, and *Swallow* sloop,



sloop, were sent to join him, with directions to take the soundings all about, to see how high the ships could come to the town, upon occasion, and to cut off all communication, upon that side, from the French squadron, which was then cruizing in the streights of Malacca.

EVERY thing being prepared, the army began to march, on the 8th of August, towards Pondicherry, from which they were at the distance of about twenty-four miles: they continued their march, on the 9th and 10th, without any appearance of an enemy; but, on the 11th, the French made a shew of about 300 foot and some horse, at an intrenchment they had thrown up, about four miles distance from the town, which they abandoned at the approach of the army. The garrison of Pondicherry consisted of 2,000 Europeans, and 3,000 Indians: Governor Dupleix, and Monsieur Paradis the chief engineer and director of all their military affairs, had taken the most seasonable and best precautions for the defence and security of their settlement, having intelligence of the destination of the British squadron, long before the arrival of Admiral Boscawen in the Indian sea: they had erected several additional fortifications about the town; they had put the fort of Aria Coupan, situate on the side of a river from whence it is denominated, at about three miles distance from the town, in a defensible condition, and they apprehended no danger from the besiegers.

REAR-ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN, having information, from a deserter, that the garrison of the fort of Aria Coupan consisted only of 100 men, white and blacks, resolved to make an attempt, with the grenadiers and piquets, to gain a lodgment in the village contiguous to it, and to

raise

raise a bomb battery there. Accordingly, on the 12th of August, early in the morning, this detachment, accompanied by a body of Indians, marched up to the village; but they were unfortunately prevented from succeeding in their attempt, by the cowardice of the Indians employed in carrying up the intrenching tools, who, on a shot coming among them, all run away; while the French flanked the detachment from two batteries they had raised on the other side of the Aria Coupan river; which made it necessary for the detachment to retire towards the sea, to open the communication with the ships, to get on shore cannon and proper materials for raising batteries, and carrying on their approaches against the fort in form, which they now found to be regularly defended with a berme, ditch, draw-bridge, and covered way: but they were obliged to lie on their arms all night, having lost several men in the attack of the village, one lieutenant being killed, and three officers wounded, besides Major Goodyer, the commanding officer of the artillery, who was wounded, by a cannon ball, in the leg, which was the most sensible loss they could have sustained, as he was a very able and experienced officer, and would have conducted their approaches in a quite different manner to what the engineers did. The next morning the whole army marched to join the detachment; and, in the afternoon, 1,100 seamen, whom the admiral had caused to be disciplined on board, and exercised in platoons under the command of Captain Lloyd, were landed, who mounted guard, and did all other duties with the regular troops. The rear-admiral, having landed four twelve and four eighteen pounders on the 16th at night, began

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PART began to work on a battery of four guns against

X. the fort, which was completed and opened the  
 next morning: but this was ineffectually con-  
 1748. structed by the engineers; and, on the 18th, a  
 battery, erected by the artillery officers, was  
 opened with great success, which the garrison,  
 with a troop of sixty European horse, supported  
 by as many foot and some seamen, made a  
 most hazardous and unsuccessful attempt to de-  
 stroy; for though the besiegers advanced guard  
 in the trench, adjoining to the battery, at first  
 gave way, they soon rallied and repulsed the  
 French with considerable loss, the commanding  
 officer of the horse being taken prisoner: soon  
 after one of the French batteries blew up, and  
 destroyed about 120 men; upon which the be-  
 siegers immediately got some royals into the  
 village, and began to bombard the fort; which,  
 about two o'clock in the afternoon, was also  
 blown up; when the besiegers marched directly  
 and took possession of it, but found that the gar-  
 rison were precipitately withdrawn, having left  
 their cloaths and every thing behind them.

On the 20th, the rear-admiral removed his  
 camp to Aria Coupan, and, from that day to the  
 25th, his people were employed in repairing the  
 fort, which being completed, they crossed the  
 river, and, the same evening, got possession of  
 a strong post in the bound hedge of Pondicherry,  
 about a mile from the walls; the French having  
 abandoned it, though it was very capable of de-  
 fence by a small number of men, and so situated,  
 as to have cost a great many in the attack, had  
 it been disputed. This post being to the north  
 west of the town, the admiral ordered the ships  
 down to the northward of it; where, on the  
 28th, he opened a communication that way, and  
 began

began to land trenching tools and other necessities to break ground before the place, which was begun on the 30th at night, in pursuance of a plan produced by one of the engineers, and which seemed the most feasible.

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THE French, on the 1st of September, made a sally upon the besiegers intrenchments, with 500 Europeans, and 800 Indians, but were repulsed, by the advanced guard of 100 men, with considerable loss; Monsieur Paradis being mortally wounded, three or four other of their best officers killed, and about 100 men killed and wounded. The British engineers continued working every night, without any material progress, and the batteries were not completed till the 25th of September, when they began to play, consisting of one of eight guns, one of four guns, with one bomb battery of five large mortars and fifteen royals, besides another of fifteen cohorns. The French, on their part, were very active and industrious, having, in the mean time, raised three fascine batteries to play upon the trenches of the besiegers, which gave them great annoyance, and put them to the necessity of making two batteries, one of three, the other of two guns, to play against them, till the grand batteries were finished; besides which the French had formed an inundation in the front of the besiegers works, so as to render it impossible to carry them on any farther.

THE rear-admiral, upon the first breaking ground, directed Captain Lisle to order the bomb ship in, and to bombard the citadel night and day, which she continued to do; but in a few days the garrison began to bombard her, and had got her length so exactly that she was obliged always to discontinue her fire in the day-

time.



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time. The season being now far advanced, and the French too formidably defended, the admiral found there was nothing left to do, but endeavouring to annoy them as much as possible, and thereby reduce them to a necessity of surrendering: so that, with this view, he ordered Captain Lisle to extend the men of war before the town in line of battle, to warp in, and begin to cannonade the morning after the batteries were opened, which he did: but though the French at first returned it very briskly, they soon slackened, and afterwards continued quiet towards the sea, while they plied the batteries warmly on the land side: however, this cannonading from the ships was of little prejudice to the town; neither was the fire from thence material, except by occasioning the death of Captain Adams of the *Harwich*, whose thigh was carried away by a cannon ball.

THE besiegers batteries continued firing, and beat down great part of the defence where the attack was intended: but as they could not carry on the approaches, by reason of the inundation, and as the men were not sufficient to begin a new attack, or carry on the siege, the admiral had only to endeavour to make a breach in the curtain, at the distance he then was; which being found impracticable, by the superiority of the French batteries, the admiral hereupon assembled a council of war, on the 30th of September, where the state of affairs being taken into consideration, and it appearing, that the strength of the army was greatly reduced, and daily lessening by sickness, occasioned by their fatigue; that the ships of war could be of no service against the town, having cannonaded a whole day without apparent effect; that the

mon-

monsoons, and rainy season, were daily expected, which would not only oblige them to raise the siege with the loss of the artillery and stores, but in all probability render the rivers impassable, destroy the roads, and cut off the retreat of the army to Fort St David, besides the risk of the ships being driven off the coasts: for these reasons it was unanimously resolved to embark the stores and cannon, and raise the siege. From the 1st of October to the 4th, the besiegers were employed in getting off their things from the shore; on the 5th they set fire to the batteries, and reimarked their sailors; and on the 6th, in the morning, the army began to march for Fort St David, where they arrived the next evening, unmolested by the French, having demolished the fort of Aria Coupan in the way. Thus terminated this expedition, with the loss of 757 soldiers, forty-three artillery men, and 265 seamen, to the besiegers; and about 500 Europeans among the French: the British admiral displayed all the abilities of a gallant and experienced commander; but policy often defeats bravery; seasonable intelligence of the dispositions of an enemy, is frequently more advantageous than the superiority of numbers; and by these the French were providently assisted, by these all the courage of the British admiral was disappointed, Pondicherry was still a place of liberty, Madras was still in captivity, and the French too formidable to dread any future attempts; which is all to be attributed to the long detention of Admiral Boscawen in England, when the French were not only apprized of, but had sent a squadron with supplies to frustrate, his expedition; tho' all hostilities were speedily terminated by the arrival of intelligence of the cessation of arms,

PART and the conclusion of a general peace; but Admiral Boscawen had the misfortune to see several of his ships, and above 1,200 of his sailors, miserably perish in a storm on the coast of Choromandel.

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THE British cruizers, and privateers, made some valuable captures, this year, both in the European and American seas; having taken, in Europe, from the French, three men of war, thirty-seven privateers, three East India ships, sixty-one Turkey ships, sixteen in the trade to Newfoundland and Canada, seventy-two in the trade to the Leeward Islands, and sixty-two others, being, in all, 254: they also took, from the French, in America, thirty-seven privateers, nine ships in the trade to Newfoundland and Canada, 166 Martinico and Domingo ships, two Guinea men, and four others, in all 218; making the whole number of captures taken from the French, during this year, amount to 472: The prizes taken, this year, from the Spaniards, in the European seas, consisted of five privateers, seven register ships, and thirteen others, being twenty-five in all: their loss in America was three men of war, fifteen privateers, forty-three register ships, and twelve others, being seventy-three; making the whole number of Spanish vessels, taken this year, amount to ninety-eight: so that the whole united loss of the French and Spaniards together, for this year, amounted to 570 ships. Both the French and Spaniards, this year, also made some considerable captures from the English: the French having taken, in the European seas, one privateer, one East Indiaman, four Turkey ships, one Guinea ship, thirteen in the trade to Jamaica and the Leeward Islands, eight Newfoundland ships, eighteen in the trade to Virginia, New England, and other places on the northern continent

of

of America, with eighty-five others, being 131; CHAP.  
the French also took in America one man of III.  
war, three privateers, seven Guinea ships, 126  
in the trade to Jamaica and the Leeward Islands, 1748.  
twelve Newfoundland ships, and fifty five vessels  
trading to the northern continent of America,  
being 204; making the whole number of prizes  
taken, this year, by the French, amount to  
335: The Spaniards also took, in the European  
seas, twelve ships in the trade to Jamaica and  
the Leeward Islands, five Newfoundland ships,  
thirteen in the trade to the northern continent  
of America, and twenty-two others, being fifty-  
two; they also took in America, one British  
privateer, five Guinea ships, thirty-four in the  
trade to Jamaica and the Leeward Islands, and  
sixty-six in the trade to the northern continent of  
America, being 106; making the whole num-  
ber of prizes taken, this year, by the Spaniards,  
amount to 158; and the French and Spanish  
captures together to 493; being seventy-seven  
less than the prizes taken, this year, by the Eng-  
lish. A considerable number of these prizes were  
taken after the expiration of the time, limited,  
by the 16th article of the preliminaries, for the  
cessation of hostilities: but a method was imme-  
diately taken for a due regulation of captures,  
conformable to the preliminary treaty, by the  
British, Dutch, and French plenipotentiaries at  
the conferences at Aix la Chapelle; who, on the  
27th of June, signed a declaration, whereby it  
was agreed, " That commissaries, sufficiently  
" authorized, should be named, by all the  
" parties, within the space of two months, who  
" should assemble at St Malo, or in such  
" other places as his most Christian majesty, his  
" Britannic majesty, and the Lords the States  
" General



*The Conduct of the Powers of Europe,*

“ General of the United Provinces should agree,  
 “ to order the reciprocal restitution, or indem-  
 “ nity for prizes taken, as well in the Mediter-  
 “ ranean as in the northern ocean, as far as Cape  
 “ St Vincent, and from that cape to the line,  
 “ after the term of six weeks, reckoning from  
 “ the signature of the preliminaries:” these  
 commissaries were accordingly appointed, they  
 proceeded to regulate the claims relating to the  
 prizes, and, after several tedious debates, ad-  
 justed the differences.

THE Spaniards, since the commencement of the  
 war, had lost 1,249 ships, and the French 2,185,  
 being 3,434 together; the English also lost  
 1,360 ships taken by the Spaniards, and 1,878  
 taken by the French, making together 3,238,  
 which was 196 less than those taken by the Eng-  
 lish during the whole course of the war: several  
 of the Spanish prizes were immensely rich, a  
 great number of the French were of considerable  
 value, and so were many of the English; but the  
 balance was almost two millions in favour of  
 the latter.



## CHAPTER IV.

The proceedings at the congress at AIX LA CHAPELLE : the PRELIMINARY TREATY OF PEACE : the ministerial transactions subsequent to that treaty : the GENERAL AND DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PACIFICATION : the CONVENTIONS for evacuating the conquered places : and the final termination of the war.

FRANCE was exulting in a series of four years conquests upon the favourite plains of the Netherlands, before her maritime force was sufficiently reduced by the superiority of the naval power of Britain; before she had humility enough to act with sincerity; and before she was willing to take upon herself the negotiation for a peace, exclusive of her confederates. France had all the reason in the world to wish for a peace; the war had brought an increase of thirty millions upon the national debt of Britain; and the Dutch were incapacitated from exerting themselves; so that a peace was determined upon, between these powers, whose interest and authority must necessarily

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PART X. easily induce the other contending parties to follow their example; for the house of Austria suffered too much by not immediately acceding to the treaty of Utrecht.

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THE conferences at Aix la Chapelle were opened, on the 11th of March, by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, and the States General of the United Provinces, when several difficulties were raised in regard to the different pretensions of the contending parties; but these were speedily adjusted by the preliminary treaty of peace, which was signed on the 19th of April, in the evening, at the house of the French plenipotentiary, and consisted of the following articles:

“ I. THAT all the former treaties should be established as the foundation of these preliminaries, and should be renewed, except in such points as might have been altered by subsequent treaties, or in which they should be altered by any of these articles.

“ II. THAT all the conquests that had been made from the beginning of the present war; as well in Europe as in the East and West Indies, should be restored.

“ III. THAT Dunkirk should remain fortified in the same manner as at present on the land side, but towards the sea should be reduced to the condition stipulated by treaties.

“ IV. THAT the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, should be left to the royal infant Don Philip, but the reversion should be reserved to the present possessor, in case either the King of the Two Sicilies should succeed to the crown of Spain, or the infant Don Philip should die without leaving posterity.

“ V.



“ V. THAT the Duke of Modena should be re-established in all his possessions, or at least should receive a satisfaction for whatever could not be restored. CHAP. IV. 1748.

“ VI. THAT the republic of Genoa should be re-established in the enjoyment of all that she possessed in the year 1740.

“ VII. THAT the King of Sardinia should remain in possession of all that he had before, and of all that he acquired by cession in 1743.

“ VIII. THAT the King of Great Britain was comprised in these articles, in quality of Elector of Hanover, and for his electorate.

“ IX. THAT the King of France, and the States General, would employ their good offices to obtain from the King of Spain satisfaction for a sum of money, which his Britannic majesty, as Elector of Hanover, claimed from his Catholic majesty.

“ X. THAT the Assiento treaty was confirmed for the number of years during which it had remained suspended.

“ XI. THAT the fifth article of the treaty of London, dated the 2d of August 1718, relative to the succession of the throne of Great Britain, was renewed in these preliminaries, in the same manner as if it were inserted word for word.

“ XII. THAT the pretension of the Elector Palatine, for satisfaction for the losses he had sustained, should be referred to a general congress.

“ XIII. THAT the King of Great Britain, the King of France, and the States General, should employ their good offices for discussing, in the present congress, the differences that had



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“ had arisen on the subject of the great master-  
 “ ship of the order of the golden fleece.

“ XIV. THAT the Emperor should be ac-  
 “ knowledged in his Imperial dignity, by all  
 “ those powers by whom no such acknowledg-  
 “ ment had been hitherto made.

“ XV. THAT the disputes, with regard to  
 “ the territory of Hainault, and the abbey of  
 “ St Huberg, should be referred to a general  
 “ congress.

“ XVI. THAT all hostilities, between the  
 “ powers at war, should cease at land in the space  
 “ of six weeks, to be reckoned from the day of  
 “ signing these articles, and at sea in the time  
 “ mentioned in an act signed at Paris, on the  
 “ 19th of August, 1712.

“ XVII. THAT the restitutions, of which  
 “ mention was made in the second article,  
 “ should not take place till such time as the par-  
 “ ties interested should have acceded to this pre-  
 “ liminary convention.

“ XVIII. THAT the cessions and specific re-  
 “ stitutions before-mentioned, as well as the esta-  
 “ blishment for Don Philip, should be all carried  
 “ into execution at the same time.

“ XIX. THAT all the parties interested in  
 “ the present convention, should renew the gua-  
 “ ranty of the pragmatic sanction in its entire  
 “ extent, except only such dominions as were  
 “ already yielded, or were to be yielded, in  
 “ virtue of these preliminaries.

“ XX. THAT the duchy of Silesia, and the  
 “ county of Glatz, should be guarantied to the  
 “ King of Prussia by all the contracting par-  
 “ ties.

“ XXI. THAT all things that had passed in  
 “ the present war should be buried in general  
 “ obli-

“ oblivion, and every one should be re-estab-  
“ lished in the full possession of what he hereto-  
“ fore enjoyed.”

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“ XXII. THAT all the princes any way in-  
“ terested in this settlement, should be invited  
“ to accede thereto as soon as possible.

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“ XXIII. THAT, in like manner, all the  
“ princes interested in this convention, should  
“ respectively guaranty the execution thereof.

“ XXIV. THAT the ratifications of these  
“ preliminaries should be exchanged within the  
“ term of three weeks, from the day of their  
“ being signed.”

To this preliminary treaty was added a secret  
article, by which it was agreed, “ That in case  
“ of the refusal, or delay of any one of the  
“ powers interested in the present preliminary  
“ articles, to concur in the signature and exe-  
“ cution of the said articles, their most Chris-  
“ tian and Britannic majesties, and the Lords  
“ the States General, should concert together  
“ the most efficacious means for the execution of  
“ what was above agreed upon between them :  
“ and if, contrary to all expectation, any one  
“ of those powers persisted in not consenting  
“ thereto, such power should not enjoy the ad-  
“ vantages that were procured to it by the pre-  
“ sent preliminary articles : this separate and  
“ secret article being to have the same force, as if  
“ it were inserted word for word in the preli-  
“ minary articles, and should be ratified in the  
“ same manner.”

THIS convention was signed by the Earl of  
Sandwich, the British plenipotentiary ; the Count  
de St Severin de Arragon, the French minister ;  
with the Count de Bentinck, the Baron de Waf-  
fenaer, and M. Hasselaer, the Dutch plenipo-  
tentiaries ;

PART tentiaries ; and the ratifications were exchanged

X. on the 10th of May : but as books of politics

1748. furnished no example of the signature of the pre-

liminaries, or treaties of this nature, the ministers were obliged to introduce a new form, which they thought proper to explain at large, that it might serve as a model, if future times should introduce the like circumstances ; which is herein afterwards explained subsequent to the definitive treaty of peace.

By these preliminaries, France was not only relieved from all her necessities, but was restored to the important settlement of Cape Breton, for which she was willing to relinquish all her acquisitions on the continent ; by these preliminaries her starving subjects were supported, her commerce was revived, and her colonies and fleets redeemed from destruction ; for which salutary work, the title of Duke and Peer of France was to be conferred on the Count de St Severin, whose services were declared, by the French monarch, to be more acceptable than the military achievements of the Marshals Saxe and Lowdenhal. France was as much at the mercy of Great Britain by sea, as the British confederates were at the mercy of France by land ; and, if nothing but the proper interest of Britain had been the object of attention, the English would soon have been in a condition of prescribing terms to France, instead of receiving them from her : the commerce of France was at the last gasp by the prohibition of insurances in England and Holland ; but the British trade was more flourishing than ever : while the naval strength of France was in ruins, that of Britain was never so formidable since England was a nation : that peace which must dissipate the maritime strength of



of Britain, would enable the French to recover, CHAP. increase, and perfect theirs; that peace which IV. 1 would restore 10,000 seamen to the service of France, must oblige the British nation to dismiss 1748. 40,000, if not force them into the pay of France; that peace would contract, if not choak up, many acquisitions peculiar to the British nation, and such as she could never expect to recover; whereas France, in one campaign, might recover all she condescended to restore: France, besides, had the merit, the glory, and the importance, of having provided for the interests of her allies, at the expence of her enemies; but the British nation had the mortification, and the reproach, not only of having deserted, but sacrificed its friends: though, what was the most alarming circumstance of all, France would soon replenish her coffers, augment her marine, and take such measures, as might, at last, enable her generals to make good a saying of Lewis XIV. "That he hoped the day would come, when his forces would visit a country, where they would find no fortresses to retard the progress of their victories."

THE empress queen was not at all inclinable to accede to the preliminaries; because, instead of procuring an equivalent for Silesia, the Austrian eagle was again to be displumaged in Italy: his Sardinian majesty was also unwilling to give his accession, because he found himself disappointed in the hopes of obtaining the possession of Final: but they were soon prevailed upon to accede, as also was the Spanish monarch, with the Duke of Modena, and the republic of Genoa. Count Caunitz, the Austrian plenipotentiary, on the 14th of May, signed the act of accession of the Empress Queen of Hungary to



PART the preliminary articles: the Sardinian minister,

X. and the plenipotentiary for the Duke of Modena, signed their accession on the 31st of May: and the Genoese and Spanish plenipotentiaries did the same on the 17th of June: upon which the British regency, on the 6th of August, published a proclamation for the cessation of hostilities against the subjects of his Catholick majesty, and the republic of Genoa, in the same manner as had been ordered with regard to the French; the lords of the regency also, on the 25th of August, signed a proclamation for taking off the prohibition of commerce with Spain, which was read, on the 1st of September, by the heralds at arms, at the Royal Exchange; but the court of Madrid did not return the civility, for, though passports were remitted, the British vessels were not admitted to unload in the ports of Spain till the 10th of October.

IN pursuance of the preliminary treaty, hostilities ceased in the Netherlands; and his Britannic majesty, on the 5th of May, issued a proclamation "For declaring the cessation of arms as well by sea as land, and enjoining the observance thereof;" which was publicly read, on the 9th, at the Royal Exchange. A further proclamation was also issued, whereby his majesty also declared, "That, for the improvement and security of the commerce of his subjects during such cessation of arms, as soon as passes could be interchanged, they would be delivered to such of his subjects as should desire the same for their ships, goods, merchandizes, and effects; they duly observing the several acts of parliament then in force with regard to trade or correspondence with France." On the 11th of July, notice was given

given to all owners, or masters, of British ships, CHAP.  
that they might be furnished with proper passes, IV.  
upon application to the office of one of the  
principal secretaries of state. The correspon- 1748.  
dence by letters, between England and France,  
was opened on the 18th of July. All the trans-  
ports, traders, and armed Vessels, in the pay of  
the British government were ordered to be paid  
off and discharged; orders were also given for  
discharging several men of war, with four regi-  
ments of marines, and two new raised regiments  
of foot; and all the public measures denoted the  
certainty of a general peace.

A DECLARATION was signed, on the 8th of  
July, at Aix la Chapelle, by the plenipoten-  
tiaries of their Britannic and most Christian ma-  
jesties, and of the States General, whereby they  
mutually declared, "That, since the signature  
" of the preliminaries, no orders had been  
" sent, to the East or West Indies, for pro-  
" ceeding to the demolition or destruction of  
" any of the conquests made on either side, or  
" for doing any thing contrary to the spirit  
" and tenor of the second article of the preli-  
" minaries; in consequence of which they had  
" agreed, that all the conquests made before  
" the 19th of April, or which might have been  
" made since, should be restored according  
" to the time limited for the cessation of hosti-  
" lities."

As all the contending powers had acced-  
ed to the preliminary treaty of peace, the mi-  
nisters of the respective parties held frequent  
conferences, at Aix la Chapelle, for the conclu-  
sion of a definitive treaty; which, after se-  
veral disputes, was, at length, finally adjusted.  
His Britannic majesty appointed Sir Thomas Ro-

PART binson, Knight of the Bath, his minister plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna, to be joint plenipotentiary with the Right Honourable John Earl of Sandwich, at the congress at Aix la Chapelle; he also appointed Richard Leveson Gower, and Edward Wortley Montague, Esqs; to execute the office of his majesty's secretary at the congress. His most sacred and most Christian majesty of France, nominated the Lords Alphonso Maria Lewis Count de St Severin of Arragon, Knight of his order; and John Gabriel de la Porthune Thueil, Knight of our Lady of Mount Carmel, and of St Lazarus of Jerusalem, counsellor of the king in his councils, secretary of the chamber, and of the cabinet of his majesty, as also of the orders of his royal highness the Dauphin, and the princesses of France. His sacred Catholic majesty of Spain, nominated the Lord Don James Massones de Lima y Soto Major, gentleman of his bed-chamber, and major-general of his forces. Her sacred majesty the Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, appointed the Lord Vencefflaus Anthony Count of Caunitz Rittberg, actual intimate counsellor of state to their Imperial majesties. His sacred majesty the King of Sardinia, nominated Don Joseph d'Offorio, knight of the great cross, and grand counsellor of the military orders of St Maurice and St Lazarus, and envoy extraordinary to his Britannic majesty; and Joseph Borre, Count de Chavannes, his counsellor of state, and his minister to the Lords the States General of the United Provinces. The high and mighty Lords the States General of the United Provinces, nominated the Lords William Count of Bentinck, of the body of the nobles of the province of Holland and west Friesland;



Friesland ; Frederic Henry Baron of Wassenaer, CHAP.  
of the body of the nobles of the same pro- IV.  
vinces ; Gerrard Arnaud Hasselaer, burgo- 1748.  
master and counsellor of the city of Amsterdam, and director of the East India company ; John, Baron of Borselle, first noble and representative of the nobility in the States to the council and admiralty of Zealand, and director of the East India company ; Onno Zwier Van Haaren, Greitman of West Sterlingwerff, deputy-counsellor of the province of Friesland, and commissary general of all the Swiss and Grison troops in the service of the States General ; the respective deputies in the assembly of the States General, and in the council of State, on the part of the provinces of Holland and West Friesland, Zealand and Friesland. The serene Duke of Modena nominated the Sieur Count de Monzone, his counsellor of state, colonel in his service, and minister plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty. And the serene republic of Genoa nominated the Sieur Francis Maria Marquis Doria. These were the ambassadors extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary, of the high contracting powers, nominated, appointed, and furnished with their full authority, to put a final conclusion, at Aix la Chapelle, to the important work of a solid and durable peace, on the foundation of the preliminary articles : all which plenipotentiaries having communicated their respective powers in full form ; and after having held conferences on the different topics which their respective sovereigns judged proper to be inserted in the deed of general pacification, agreed to a general and definitive treaty of peace, which was signed, by the British, French, and Dutch plenipotentiaries,



PART ries, on the 7th of October ; the preamble of  
X. which was as follows,

1748. “ IN the name of the most holy and invisable  
trinity, the father, son, and holy ghost. So  
be it.

“ BE it known to all people whom these pre-  
sents now actually concern, or hereafter may  
concern in any respect whatsoever. Europe  
now sees the happy day shine forth, that the  
divine providence had pointed out for the  
establishment of her repose. A general peace  
succeeds the long and bloody war, which has  
been carried on between the most serene and  
puissant Prince Lewis XV. by the grace of  
God, the Most Christian King of France and  
Navarre, on the one part ; the most serene  
and puissant Prince George II. by the grace  
of God, King of Great Britain, Duke of  
Brunswic and Lunenburgh, Arch-treasurer  
and Elector of the holy Roman Empire ; and  
the serene and most puissant Princess Maria-  
Theresa, by the grace of God, Queen of Hun-  
gary and Bohemia, Empress of the Romans,  
on the other : as also between the most serene  
and most puissant Prince Philip V. by the  
grace of God, King of Spain and the Indies,  
of glorious memory, and after his decease,  
the most serene and most puissant Prince Fer-  
dinand VI. by the grace of God, King of  
Spain and the Indies, of the one part ; the  
aforesaid King of Great Britain, and the Em-  
press Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and  
the most serene and most puissant Prince  
Charles-Emanuel III. by the grace of God,  
King of Sardinia, of the other : in which said  
war their High and Mighty Lordships the  
States General of the United Provinces of the

“ Low

“ Low Countries, are interested as allies of the CHAP.  
“ King of Great Britain, and the Empress IV.  
“ Queen of Hungary and Bohemia; and his  
“ most serene highness the Duke of Modena, 1748.  
“ and the most serene republic of Genoa, as  
“ auxiliaries of the King of Spain.”

AFTER which the plenipotentiaries were described, and it was declared that they had agreed on a general and definitive treaty of peace, which consisted of the following articles :

“ I. THAT there shall be a christian, univer-  
“ sal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as  
“ land, and a sincere and inviolable friendship  
“ preserved between the high powers abovementioned, their heirs, successors, kingdoms, states,  
“ provinces, countries, subjects, and vassals, of  
“ what rank and condition soever they may be,  
“ without any exception either of places or persons ; inasmuch as the high contracting powers  
“ are very assiduous to maintain between them  
“ and their aforesaid states and subjects, that reciprocal friendship and correspondence, without permitting hostilities, of what nature or  
“ kind soever, to be committed on one side or  
“ the other, or on any cause or pretence whatsoever, and industriously avoiding all things  
“ for the future, that may any ways disturb or  
“ alter that union, which is now so happily established between them ; and, on the other  
“ hand, using their utmost endeavours to procure, on all occasions, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interest, and  
“ advantage, without giving the least aid or  
“ assistance, directly or indirectly, to any persons whomsoever, who would willingly injure,  
“ or prejudice, any of the high contracting  
“ powers whatsoever.

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“ II. THAT there shall be a general oblivion  
 “ of whatever is past during the war, that is now  
 “ finished. And that each party, upon the day  
 “ appointed for the exchange of the ratifications  
 “ on all sides, shall be put into the possession of  
 “ all his effects, dignities, ecclesiastical benefits,  
 “ honours and revenues, which they either actu-  
 “ ally enjoyed, or ought to have enjoyed, at  
 “ the commencement of the war; notwithstand-  
 “ ing all disposals, seizures, or confiscations, oc-  
 “ casioned by the late war.

“ III. THE treaty of Westphalia in 1648;  
 “ those of Madrid, between the crowns of Spain  
 “ and England, in 1667, 1678, and 1679; that  
 “ of Ryswick in 1697; of Utrecht in 1713;  
 “ that of Baden in 1714; the treaty of the  
 “ triple alliance at the Hague, in 1717; that  
 “ of the quadruple alliance at London in 1718;  
 “ and the treaty of peace at Vienna in 1738,  
 “ shall serve as a basis, or foundation, of the ge-  
 “ neral peace, and the present treaty; and, for  
 “ this purpose, those treaties are renewed, and  
 “ confirmed, in the best form, and directly as  
 “ they are herein inserted, word for word; in-  
 “ somuch that they shall be punctually observed,  
 “ for the future, in all their full force and vir-  
 “ tue, and be faithfully executed on one side  
 “ and the other, such points, however, as have  
 “ been derogated from in the present treaty  
 “ only excepted.

“ IV. THAT all the prisoners, on one side  
 “ and the other, as well those at sea as those by  
 “ land, and the respective hostages required or  
 “ given during the war, and to this day, shall  
 “ be restored without ransom, in six weeks, or  
 “ as soon afterwards as possible, computing from  
 “ the exchange of the ratification of the present  
 “ treaty,



“ treaty, and that the same shall be immediate-  
“ ly entered upon after such exchange. All  
“ vessels, as well men of war as merchantmen,  
“ that shall have been taken since the expiration  
“ of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of  
“ hostilities at sea, shall be, in like manner,  
“ faithfully restored, with all their stores and  
“ cargoes, and sureties shall be given on all sides  
“ for payment of the debts, which either such  
“ prisoners or hostages shall contract in those  
“ estates wherein they had been detained, until  
“ their discharge.

“ V. THAT all the conquests that have been  
“ made since the commencement of the war,  
“ or which since the conclusion of the prelimi-  
“ nary articles signed the 19th day of April last,  
“ might have been or were made, either in  
“ Europe, or the East or West Indies, or in  
“ any other part of the world whatsoever, shall  
“ be restored, without exception, in conformity  
“ to what was stipulated by the aforesaid preli-  
“ minary articles, and by the declarations that  
“ have been since signed : the high contracting  
“ powers do covenant not only incessantly to  
“ proceed in making such restitutions, but like-  
“ wise in putting his most serene highness Don  
“ Philip into the possession of those estates,  
“ which were agreed to be delivered up to him,  
“ by virtue of the preliminary articles aforesaid.  
“ The said parties solemnly renouncing for  
“ themselves, their heirs, and successors, all  
“ right and claim whatsoever, by what title or  
“ pretence whatsoever, to all the estates, coun-  
“ tries, and places, that they have respectively  
“ covenanted to restore ; saving, however, and  
“ reserving the reversion of such estates so  
“ agreed

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PART “ agreed to be delivered into the hands of the  
 X. “ aforesaid most serene infant Don Philip.

“ VI. It is determined and agreed, that the  
 1748. “ respective restitutions and cessions in Europe,  
 “ shall all be entirely made and executed, on  
 “ every side, in the space of six weeks, or  
 “ sooner if possible, from the day of the ex-  
 “ change of the ratifications of the present trea-  
 “ ty of the eight parties before-mentioned ; so  
 “ that, within the same term of six weeks, the  
 “ most Christian king shall restore both to the  
 “ Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia,  
 “ and to the States General of the United Pro-  
 “ vinces, all the places he has taken from them  
 “ during the war. The Empress Queen of  
 “ Hungary and Bohemia, in consequence here-  
 “ of, shall be replaced in the full and peaceable  
 “ possession of all that she enjoyed before the  
 “ present war in the Low Countries, and else-  
 “ where, except what is otherwise settled by the  
 “ present treaty : at the same time the Lords  
 “ the States General of the United Provinces are  
 “ to be put into full and peaceable possession,  
 “ such as they enjoyed before the present war,  
 “ of the towns of Bergen-op-Zoom and Mac-  
 “ stricht, and of all they possessed before the  
 “ present war in Dutch Flanders, Brabant, Hol-  
 “ land, and elsewhere. And the towns and  
 “ places in the Low Countries, the sovereignty  
 “ of which belonged to the Empress Queen of  
 “ Hungary and Bohemia, wherein their High  
 “ Mightinesses have the right of garrison, shall  
 “ be evacuated to the troops of the republic  
 “ in the same time. The King of Sardinia to  
 “ be, in the same time and manner, entirely  
 “ re-established and maintained in the duchy  
 “ of Savoy, and in the county of Nice, and also  
 “ in

“ in all the states, countries, places, and ports, CHAP.  
“ taken from him on occasion of the present IV.  
“ war. The serene Duke of Modena, and the  
“ serene republic of Genoa, shall at the same 1748.  
“ time be entirely re-established and maintain-  
“ ed in the states, countries, places, and forts,  
“ taken from them during the present war, and  
“ this agreeable to the tenor of the 13th and  
“ and 14th articles of this treaty relating there-  
“ to. All the restitutions and cessions of the  
“ said towns, forts, and places, to be made,  
“ with all the artillery and ammunition found  
“ therein, on the day of their occupation in  
“ the course of the war by the powers which  
“ have made the said cessions and restitutions,  
“ and this according to the inventories which  
“ have been made, or which shall be delivered  
“ *bona fide* on all sides, extending so far, that as  
“ to the pieces of artillery which have been  
“ sent elsewhere to be new cast, or for other  
“ purposes, they are to be replaced by the same  
“ number, of the same sort in weight and met-  
“ tal; but the towns of Mons, Aeth, Oude-  
“ narde, and Menin, the fortifications of which  
“ have been demolished, are to be given up  
“ without the artillery. Nothing is to be de-  
“ manded for the money expended on the for-  
“ tifications of all the others, nor for other  
“ public or private works which have been  
“ made in the countries thus to be restored.  
“ VII. IN consideration of the restitutions,  
“ their most Christian and Catholic majesties  
“ make by the present treaty, either to her  
“ majesty the Queen of Hungary and Bohemia,  
“ or to his majesty the King of Sardinia, the  
“ dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla,  
“ shall, for the future, belong to the serene In-  
“ fant

“fant Don Philip, and be possessed by him,  
 “and his male descendants, born in legitimate  
 “marriage, in the same manner and extent, as  
 “they have been enjoyed by the present pos-  
 “sessors; and the said serene infant, or his male  
 “descendants, shall enjoy the said three dutchies,  
 “agreeable to, and on the conditions expressed  
 “in the acts of cession of the Empress Queen of  
 “Hungary and the King of Sardinia, to be re-  
 “mitted, together with their ratifications of  
 “the present treaty, to the ambassador extraor-  
 “dinary and plenipotentiary of the Catholic  
 “king, in the same manner as the ambassadors  
 “extraordinary and plenipotentiaries of their  
 “most Christian and Catholic majesties shall re-  
 “mit, with the ratifications of their majesties,  
 “to that of the King of Sardinia the orders to  
 “the generals of the French and Spanish troops  
 “for restoring Savoy and the county of Nice, to  
 “persons commissioned to receive them; so that  
 “the restitution of the said States, and the tak-  
 “ing possession of the said dutchies of Parma,  
 “Placentia, and Guastalla, by, or in the name of,  
 “the serene Infant Don Philip, may be affected  
 “at the same time, agreeable to the articles of  
 “cession, the tenor whereof is as follows: that  
 “the Empress Queen of Hungary, whose cession  
 “was wrote in the Latin language, in order to  
 “discharge herself of what she was bound to  
 “by the present articles, in a well-grounded  
 “hope that their most Christian and Catholic  
 “majesties, as well as the party who shall here-  
 “after be possessed of the three dutchies, and  
 “his male descendants, will actually and *bona fide*  
 “fulfil the purport of the articles abovementioned,  
 “doth renounce and quit all manner of  
 “claims, rights, and pretensions to her belonging,  
 “under



“ under what title or cause soever, to the said three CHAP.  
“ dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, of IV.  
“ which she was formerly possessed: which said  
“ claims, rights, and pretensions, she doth hereby, 1748.  
“ in the best and most solemn form she possibly  
“ can, transfer to the said serene Infant Don Philip,  
“ and to his male descendants, lawfully begot-  
“ ten: she absolves likewise all the inhabitants of  
“ the said dutchies, in general, from that oath of  
“ allegiance which they have taken to her; but  
“ as to that which they shall hereafter take to  
“ those to whom she transfers her rights, it is to  
“ be of force no farther than while the said se-  
“ rene Infant Don Philip, or any of his descen-  
“ dants, have not ascended the throne either of  
“ the Two Sicilies or that of Spain; for she doth  
“ expressly reserve, as well for herself as for her  
“ successors, all the claims, rights and preten-  
“ sions to those dutchies, which formerly did be-  
“ long to her; as also the right of reversion,  
“ provided the said Infant Don Philip should die  
“ without issue male. The cession of his Sardi-  
“ nian majesty, which was wrote in the Italian  
“ language, imported, that he, by virtue of  
“ the present act, did renounce, transfer, and  
“ set over, as well for himself as for his suc-  
“ cessors, to the said serene Infant Don Philip,  
“ and to his male descendants lawfully begotten,  
“ the town of Placentia, and the Plaisantin,  
“ whereof his majesty was before possessed, for  
“ him to enjoy it as Duke of Parma; renounc-  
“ ing, on this account, all claims, rights, and  
“ pretensions to him belonging, but expressly  
“ reserving, nevertheless, as well for himself as  
“ for his successors, the right of reversion in the  
“ cases abovementioned.



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“ VIII. For the better assurance, and more effectual performance of the said restitutions, it is covenanted and agreed, that they shall be duly executed and accomplished, on all sides, in Europe, within the term of six weeks, or as soon as conveniently may be, from the day that the ratifications of all the eight contracting powers shall be exchanged; for which purpose, in fifteen days, after the present treaty shall be signed, the generals or other persons, whom the high contractors, both on one part and the other, shall think most proper to commission, shall assemble at Brussels and Nice, to concert and agree to such means for proceeding to the restitutions, as shall be equally convenient for the troops, as for the inhabitants, and the respective countries; but so as that all and each of the high contracting powers may be in intire and peaceable possession, without any exception, be it by cession or otherwise, within the term of six weeks, or as soon as conveniently may be, after the ratifications of the present treaty of all the said eight powers shall be exchanged, in conformity to their intentions and engagements thereby contracted.

“ IX. In consideration that, notwithstanding the reciprocal engagement by the eighteenth article of the preliminaries, which imports, that all the restitutions should proceed on an equal footing, and should be executed at one and the same time, his most Christian majesty, by the sixth article of the present treaty, engages to restore in six weeks, or so soon as conveniently may be, from the day the ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged, all the conquests he has made in  
“ the

“ the Low Countries; while it is impossible, CHAP.  
“ from the distance of the country, that what IV.  
“ concerns America can be effected at the same  
“ time, or the term fixed for its perfect execu- 1748.  
“ tion; the King of Great Britain, therefore,  
“ engages on his part to send to his most Chris-  
“ tian majesty, immediately after the ratificati-  
“ ons of the present treaty shall be exchanged,  
“ two persons of rank and distinction to reside in  
“ France, as hostages, till such time as they  
“ shall have a certain and authentic account of  
“ the restitution of the Royal Island, called  
“ Cape Breton, and of all the conquests that the  
“ arms or subjects of his Britannic majesty may  
“ have made in the East and West Indies, before,  
“ or after, the preliminaries, shall be signed.  
“ Their Britannic and most Christian majesties  
“ bind them likewise, upon the ratifications of  
“ the present treaty being exchanged, to remit  
“ the duplicates of the orders given to the com-  
“ missaries respectively appointed to restore and  
“ receive whatever may have been conquered on  
“ one part and the other, in the East and West  
“ Indies, conformable to the second article of  
“ the preliminaries, and the declarations of the  
“ 21st and 31st of May, and the 8th of July  
“ last, in regard to what concerns the said con-  
“ quests in the East and West Indies. Provided  
“ always, nevertheless, that the said Royal Island  
“ of Cape Breton shall be restored, with all the  
“ artillery and ammunition which was found  
“ therein on the day that it was surrendered;  
“ and, as to the other restitutions, they shall  
“ have their effect conformable to the purport  
“ of the 11th article of the preliminaries, and  
“ the declarations and conventions of the 21st  
“ and 31st of May, and the 8th of July, in the  
“ same

PART “ same state and condition wherein things were

X. “ found on the 1st of June, in the West Indies,

“ and the 20th of October, in the East Indies,

1748. “ and every thing else to be restored on the

“ same footing as they were before the present

“ war begun. The said respective commissaries,

“ both those for the West and those for the East

“ Indies, are required to be ready to set out on

“ the first advice, that their Britannic and most

“ Christian majesties shall receive of the ratifica-

“ tions being duly exchanged, and to be fur-

“ nished with all the necessary instructions,

“ commissions, powers, and orders, for the more

“ expeditious accomplishment of their majesties

“ said intentions, and of the engagements they

“ have contracted by the present treaty.

“ X. THE ordinary revenues of such countries

“ as are to be respectively restored, or yielded up,

“ and the imposts laid for the support and win-

“ ter-quarters of the troops, shall belong to those

“ powers that are in possession till the day on

“ which the ratifications of the present treaty

“ shall be exchanged, without its being permit-

“ ted, nevertheless, to use any manner of exe-

“ cution, in case they have been given sufficient

“ notice for the payment. The troops to be

“ furnished with forage and utensils to the time

“ of evacuation ; by means whereof all the pow-

“ ers covenant and agree to repeat nothing, nor

“ exact any taxes and contributions, which they

“ might have established on the countries,

“ towns, and places, that they have been in

“ possession of during the course of the war,

“ and that they had not been discharged to the

“ time that the events of the said war had

“ forced them to abandon the said countries,

“ towns,



“ towns and places ; all pretensions of this nature being made void by the present treaty. CHAP. IV.

“ XI. ALL such papers, letters, instructions, and archives, as shall be found in the countries, lands, towns, and places, to be restored, as well as those belonging to the countries yielded up, shall be respectively delivered, or *bona fide* furnished at the same time, if possible, as possession shall be taken, or at furthest two months after the ratifications of the present treaty of all the eight contracting powers shall be exchanged, in whatever place the said papers or instructions shall be found, namely, those which had been removed from the archive of the grand council of Mechlin. 1748.

“ XII. THE King of Sardinia shall continue in possession, not only of what he anciently, but what he lately enjoyed, and particularly of the acquisition he made in 1743 of the Vigevenasque, one part of the Pavésan, and of the county of Anghiera, in the same manner as this prince now possesses them, by virtue of the cessions which have been made him.

“ XIII. THE serene Duke of Modena, by virtue as well of the present treaty, as of his rights, prerogatives, and dignities, shall, in six weeks, or sooner if possible, after the ratifications of the treaty shall be exchanged, be put in the actual possession of all the states, places, forts, effects, and revenues, which he enjoyed before the war. At the same time he is to have the archives, instructions, writings, and moveables of what nature soever, restored to him ; as also the artillery, baggage, and ammunition, which were found in the places at the time of their possession : For as to so much as shall appear deficient, or shall have  
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“ been converted into any other form, the just  
 “ value of such materials so removed, shall be  
 “ paid for in ready money ; which money, as  
 “ well as the equivalent of the fiefs, which the  
 “ serene Duke of Modena was in possession of  
 “ in Hungary, if not restored, shall be settled  
 “ and adjusted by the respective generals or  
 “ commissaries, who are to assemble at Nice, in  
 “ fifteen days, after the signature, according to  
 “ the 8th article of the present treaty, in order  
 “ to consult on proper ways and means for the  
 “ execution of the reciprocal restitutions and  
 “ possessions ; so that at the time, and on the  
 “ same day, as the serene Duke of Modena shall  
 “ be put into possession of all his estates, he may  
 “ likewise enter into the enjoyment either of  
 “ his fiefs in Hungary, or the said equivalent,  
 “ and receive the value of such things as cannot  
 “ be restored him : he shall also, in the same  
 “ term of six weeks after the ratifications shall be  
 “ exchanged, have justice done him with re-  
 “ spect to the allodial effects of the house of  
 “ Guastalla.

“ XIV. THE serene republic of Genoa, as  
 “ well by virtue of the present treaty, as of its  
 “ rights, prerogatives, and dignities, in six weeks,  
 “ or as soon as conveniently may be, after the  
 “ ratifications of the said treaty shall be ex-  
 “ changed, shall re-enter into possession of all  
 “ those states, forts, places, and countries, of  
 “ what nature soever ; as also into all those rents,  
 “ and revenues, that it enjoyed before the war ;  
 “ particularly all and each of the members and  
 “ subjects of the said republic, shall, in the said  
 “ term after the ratifications of the present treaty  
 “ shall be exchanged, re-enter into the posses-  
 “ sion, enjoyment, and liberty of disposing of  
 “ all

“ all the funds they had in the banks of Vienna, CHAP.  
“ in Austria, in Bohemia, or in any other part IV.  
“ of the dominions of the Empress Queen of  
“ Hungary and Bohemia, and of the King of 1748.  
“ Sardinia, and the interests shall be exactly  
“ and regularly paid them, from the day that  
“ the ratifications of the present treaty shall be  
“ exchanged.

“ XV. It is concluded and agreed between  
“ the eight high parties, that, for the benefit  
“ and support of the peace in general, and for  
“ the tranquility of Italy in particular, all things  
“ shall remain there in the state and condition  
“ they were before the war, excepting and after  
“ the execution of the dispositions made by the  
“ present treaty.

“ XVI. THE treaty of the Assiento, signed  
“ at Madrid the 27th of March 1713, and the  
“ article of the annual ship, making part of the  
“ said treaty, are particularly confirmed by the  
“ present treaty for the four years during which  
“ the enjoyment was lost since the commence-  
“ ment of the present war, and shall be execut-  
“ ed on the same footing, and on the same con-  
“ ditions they have been, or might be, before  
“ the said war.

“ XVII. DUNKIRK shall remain fortified on the  
“ land side in its present state, and for the sea  
“ side on the footing of antient treaties.

“ XVIII. THE claims of money of his Bri-  
“ tannic majesty, as Elector of Hanover, upon  
“ the crown of Spain; the differences concern-  
“ ing the abbey of St Hubert; the boundaries of  
“ Hainault, and the courts lately established in  
“ the Low Countries; the pretensions of the E-  
“ lector Palatine, and the other articles, which  
“ have not been regulated, and therefore cannot

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“ be inserted in the present treaty, shall be settled amicably by the commissaries nominated for that purpose on each side, or otherwise, as it shall be agreed on by the interested powers.

“ XIX. THE fifth article of the treaty of Quadruple Alliance concluded at London the 2d of April, 1718, containing the guaranty of the succession to the kingdom of Great Britain in the house of his reigning Britannic majesty, and by which every thing was provided that can relate to the person who takes upon himself the title of King of Great Britain, and to his descendants of both sexes, is expressly renewed by the present article, as much as if it had been inserted in its full extent.

“ XX. HIS Britannic majesty, in quality of Elector of Brunswic-Lunenburgh, both for himself, and his heirs, and successors, all his estates and possessions in Germany, are comprised and guaranteed by the present treaty.

“ XXI. ALL the powers interested in the present treaty, who guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction of the 19th of April, 1713, for the entire inheritance of the late Emperor Charles VI. in favour of his daughter the present reigning Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and of her descendants for ever, according to the order settled by the said Pragmatic Sanction, renew it in the best manner possible, at the exception nevertheless of the cessions already made, either by the late emperor, the said princess his daughter, or of those stipulated by the present treaty.

“ XXII.



“ XXII. THE dutchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz, such as his Prussian majesty possesses at this day, are guarantied to that prince by all the powers, parties, and contractors of the present treaty. CHAP. IV. 1748.

“ XXIII. ALL the powers contracting and interested in the present treaty reciprocally and respectively guaranty its execution.

“ XXIV. THE solemn ratifications of the present treaty, drawn up in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Aix la Chapelle between all the eight parties, within the space of a month, or sooner if possible, from the day of signing.”

To this treaty were added two separate articles signed by the British, French, and Dutch plenipotentiaries; the first of which declared, “ THAT some of the titles made use of by the contracting parties, as well in the powers and other acts during the course of the negotiation, as in the preamble of the present treaty, not being generally acknowledged, it is concluded and agreed that no prejudice shall ever result therefrom to any of the said contracting parties; and that no consequences are to be cited, or drawn, from the titles taken, or omitted, on any side, on account of the said negotiation, and the present treaty.

“ II. It is agreed, that the French language made use of in all the copies of the present treaty, and which may be used in the acts of accession, shall not furnish any example or consequence to be alledged or drawn therefrom, nor occasion the least prejudice in any manner to any of the contracting powers, as they must conform for the future to what has been and may be observed, on the part of the



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“ powers which are in possession, or giving and  
 “ receiving copies of the like treaties and acts in  
 “ any other language. The present treaty, and  
 1748. “ the accessions which ensue, have the same  
 “ force and virtue as if the said custom had  
 “ been observed ; and the present separate arti-  
 “ cles have likewise the same force as if they  
 “ had been inserted in the treaty.”

THE plenipotentiaries of his Catholic majesty acceded to this definitive treaty on the 9th of October ; those of the Empress Queen of Hungary on the 12th ; the Modenese minister on the 14th ; and the Sardinian and Genoese plenipotentiaries on the 17th. The whole transaction relative to the negotiation of these preliminary and definitive treaties, had no precedent, so that the plenipotentiaries invented a peculiar method of carrying them into execution. The preliminaries of France with England, in 1712, were signed by Monsieur Mesnager alone, plenipotentiary at the congress at Utrecht, who remitted them to the British minister, from whom he received a declaration importing, That the Queen of Great Britain accepted those propositions as preliminary articles. The King of France, in the same manner, agreed, in 1735, with the Emperor alone, upon the articles which served for the basis of the peace of 1738 : they were signed by the public or private ministers of those two princes, and the form of the signature was altogether simple ; those ministers only setting their names at the bottom of what their courts prescribed to them. The case in 1748 was very different : the British, French and Dutch ministers having drawn up the articles themselves, upon the general instructions given by their

their courts, they proceeded to the signature CHAP.  
in the manner they thought most suitable: IV.  
they made four copies of the treaty; in one, 1748.  
the King of France was always named before  
the two maritime powers; in another, the  
same thing was observed in regard to his  
Britannic majesty; and the other two were  
duplicates of the former. After reading their  
full powers, of which the ministers reciprocal-  
ly gave in certified copies, according to cus-  
tom, they proceeded to the signature: the  
Count de St Severin still signing first, where  
the name of the French monarch had pre-  
cedence, and the Earl of Sandwich the same,  
where the name of his Britannic majesty was  
first; the plenipotentiaries of Holland signing  
last, in each of the four copies. Count de St  
Severin kept that in which he signed first;  
Lord Sandwich did the same; and the Dutch  
ministers kept the other two copies, in which  
each power was respectively named first, by  
this means leaving equal precedence to the  
two crowns; and the same method was fol-  
lowed, in all the other acts relating to the  
preliminaries. These copies, signed by all,  
were sent by each minister, to his court; and,  
therefore, no original remained which the  
ministers of the powers, who were to accede,  
could sign: consequently they were obliged,  
when Count Caunitz, minister of the em-  
press-queen, acceded, to make four new co-  
pies, at the bottom of which he put his act  
of accession, which were signed and distri-  
buted as the former: each of the ministers  
of the two crowns delivered to Count Cau-  
nitz his act of acceptance, and the ministers  
of the United Provinces delivered him dupli-  
cates

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cates of theirs, to preserve the alteration of precedence in those places where his most Christian and his Britannic majesty were mentioned. The same thing was afterwards done when the Count de Chavannes, minister of the King of Sardinia, Count de Monzone, minister of the Duke of Modena, Marquis Doria, minister of the republic of Genoa, and the Marquis de Soto Major, minister of his Catholic majesty, acceded: eight copies were always made of each accession, to wit, four, which contained the preliminary articles and all that followed them, at the bottom of which the acceding minister signed his act of accession; and four others like them, in which, after the said accession and signature, the ministers of the three powers put their act of acceptation, which they gave him upon the receipt of his act of accession. In each copy, all the preceding accessions and acceptations were inserted; so that the copies of the Marquis de Soto Major, whose accession was last, contained all the others: Moreover the ministers of the three powers gave each the new acceder a certified copy of the ratification, of the preliminaries, to confirm to him that the act he acceded to was valid and in true form. The custom was also introduced, that when a declaration was formed, which ought to be common among all the contracting parties, it was signed by the ministers of the three powers, each of those of the kings keeping the copy in which he signed first, and the Dutch ministers, as usual, keeping two: this copy, thus signed by all, and sent to each court, became the certified original: afterwards



wards the others acceded by a separate act, CHAP. of which they promised to procure the rati- IV. fication: an act of acceptance was then given them, with a promise of ratification: when, 1748. on the contrary, an act was not common but only betwixt two parties, the minister who gave it sent a duplicate to his court, signed by him, and sealed with his arms, and this duplicate became the original, upon which the ratification was dispatched. The form took place with regard to the declaration of the 31st of May, by the ministry of England, France, and Holland; each copy was signed only by one minister, who remitted it to those of the two other powers, from whence he received one like it, and sent a duplicate of it to his court to be ratified: This was the only time when it so happened, all the other acts having been always signed in common by the ministry of the three powers first contracting. The method here explained being the most simple means that could be imagined to avoid the multiplicity of copies, the number of which would have been infinite, if all the powers had been named in each act of accession or reception, because the alteration of order must have been made into first, second, third, and so again, in proportion to the number of contracting and acceding parties.

THE ratifications of the definitive treaty were exchanged in conformity to the article for that purpose; and in pursuance of which the respective armies, both in the Netherlands and in Italy, were withdrawn: the Hanoverian troops, on the 25th of October, began their march homewards; the British troops were soon afterwards embarked



PART embarked for England ; and the rest of the

X. confederate forces took up their cantonments

in the Netherlands, which the French forces

1748. began to evacuate at the same time : Ber-

gen-op-Zoom was restored, on the 5th of De-

cember, to the Dutch, and Antwerp on the

11th, which the troops of the empress queen

took possession of the same day : after which the

commissaries of the respective powers, assembled

at Brussels, by a convention, signed on the 26th

of December, appointed the days for the eva-

cuation of the conquered places occupied by

the French ; in pursuance whereof the town of

Tirlemont, and the rest of the places upon the

Demer, were to be restored on the 4th of Ja-

nuary ; that of Louvain, the Seignory of Mech-

lin, and all the places upon the Dyle, the 7th ;

Brussels, Vilvorden, Brabant-Walloon, and Dutch

Flanders, the 10th ; Dendermond, the cha-

tellany of Alost, Lessines, and the towns

upon the Dender, the 15th ; Ghent, Bru-

ges, and Maestricht, the 19th ; Ostend, Oude-

narde, and Tournay, the 24th ; Courtray, Me-

nin, Furnes, and Newport, the 27th ; and the

towns of Namur and Ypres, the 30th. But in

a conference, held at the same time, between

Count Caunitz, and Monsieur de Thuiel, upon

account of the difficulties which arose in rela-

tion to the restitution of the territories in Hun-

gary belonging to the Duke of Modena ; as

likewise concerning the stock which the repub-

lic of Genoa had in the bank of Vienna, the

allodial effects of the house of Guastalla, and the

re-establishment of the abby of St Hubert, their

excellencies agreed to a convention, whereby

it was stipulated, " That the towns of Mons,

" Guilain, Charleroy, and Aeth, together with

" the rest of the Austrian Hainault, should remain

" in

“ in the possession of France till the difficulties in CHAP.  
“ question should be terminated in an amicable IV.  
“ manner ; and that, in the mean time, the eva-  
“ cuation of the other places in the Netherlands, 1748.  
“ should be proceeded upon immediately.” The

Dutch prisoners in France, making 13,400 men, were released, as were all the other prisoners of the contending powers: the conquered places were evacuated, and, on the 12th of April 1749, Prince Charles of Lorraine made his public entry into Brussels, in quality of Governor-General of the Austrian Netherlands, with great pomp and magnificence.

THE commissaries of the respective powers appointed to settle affairs in Italy, assembled at Nice ; and, on the 2d of December, concluded a convention, relating to the evacuation of the states and places which were to be yielded and restored by virtue of the treaty of peace, whereby it was agreed, “ That the Piedmontese troops  
“ should retire the 15th of December from all  
“ the Western Riviera, excepting the castles of  
“ Savona and Final : That a detachment of four  
“ battalions of French troops should set out the  
“ same day from Genoa : that they should be  
“ followed successively by the rest of those troops,  
“ so that the last division should leave Genoa the  
“ 4th of January following, in order to return  
“ to Provence by the way of Savona and Final :  
“ and that, after they had passed by those two  
“ places, the Piedmontese troops should deliver  
“ up the castles of them to the Genoese. That  
“ the duchies of Parma, Placentia, Guastalla,  
“ and Modena, the fortrefs of Gavi, with all  
“ the territory belonging to the republic of Ge-  
“ noa, and the duchy of Savoy with its depen-  
“ dencies should be restored and delivered up  
“ the

PART " the 4th of January 1749. That, on the 16th

X. " of the same month, the French troops should  
 evacuate Villafranca and the whole county of

1748. " Nice, and that they should repass the Var the  
 " same day. That the exchange of the Aus-  
 " trian, French, Spanish, and Genoese priso-  
 " ners, together with the four hostages that were  
 " at Milan, and the other Genoese nobles that  
 " were in custody of the Imperialists, should be  
 " performed, at Pietra Lavazzara, on the 18th  
 " or 20th of December."

THE French and Spanish prisoners detained in Piedmont were set at liberty, as also were the Austrians at Genoa, and the Genoese in Milan; the royal Infant Don Philip took possession of his new sovereignty, with great demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants, who expected great ease and advantage from a sovereign of the ducal blood of Parma, whose establishment had cost Spain above 150 millions of piastres, and France 120 millions of livres: the Duke of Modena was also fully re-instated in his dominions; while the republic of Genoa retook possession of those places which had been dismembered from their state, after having lost above 100 millions of genouins by the war: the Spaniards quitted the duchy of Savoy; the French evacuated Nice, and his Sardinian majesty was left in the peaceable possession of all his antient and newly acquired territories.

HIS Britannic majesty sent the Earl of Suffex, and Lord Cathcart, to France, to remain there as hostages for the restitution of Cape Breton; who, on the 28th of November, were presented to the French monarch at Versailles: but, notwithstanding the precedent of Lewis XIV. agreeing to send hostages to the Duke of Savoy, the stipulation

of



of these hostages was an insult upon the honour of the British nation, from whence they were detained till the French retook possession of Cape Breton, which was surrendered to them, on the 23d of July 1749, in a better condition than when they left it; but as for Madras, the French had no hostages in England, which left this feat of the British presidency in the East Indies entirely at their mercy, and afforded a remarkable instance of the generosity of France, for fort St George was left in a very desolate and ruinous condition to the English.

CHAP.

IV.

1748.



CHAP.





## CHAPTER V.

The speech of his BRITANNIC majesty, to his parliament, concerning THE DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PACIFICATION. The PEACE proclaimed. The reform of the contending armies and fleets. The colonization of NOVA SCOTIA. The affair of TABAGO. With reflections on the PEACE, and the state of the late belligerent powers.

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HIS Britannic majesty returned to his regal dominions, on the 22d of November; and, on the 25th, received an address from the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London, congratulating him on his arrival, and most thankfully attributing the restoration of peace and tranquility to Europe, to the paternal regard and concern of his majesty for the happiness of his people, and to that sense of true glory which animated his royal heart for the good of mankind. His majesty, on the 29th of November,

vember, opened the second session of parliament, CHAP.  
with a speech from the throne; wherein, after V.  
acquainting the lords and gentlemen of the sig-  
nature of the definitive treaty of peace, and re- 1748.  
commending to them the improvement of the  
public revenue, and the maintaining their naval  
force in proper strength and vigour; he declared,  
“ THAT it was impossible for him to speak to  
“ them, on this subject of the happy re-esta-  
“ blishment of the public tranquillity, without  
“ returning them his sincere thanks for the great  
“ and affectionate support they had given him,  
“ in carrying on this just and necessary war;  
“ in which not only the common cause of Eu-  
“ rope, but their own independency and essen-  
“ tial interests were highly concerned. THAT  
“ as the extraordinary burdens which it brought  
“ upon his good subjects gave him much unea-  
“ siness, so he could not but wish to see as speedy  
“ an end put to them as possible. That whatever  
“ the events of war might have been, the bra-  
“ very of his troops had distinguished itself on  
“ every occasion, to their lasting honour; and  
“ the signal successes at sea must ever be remem-  
“ bered to the glory of the British fleet, and in-  
“ title it to the particular attention and support  
“ of the nation. His majesty earnestly recom-  
“ mended to them the advancement of their  
“ commerce, and cultivating the arts of peace, in  
“ which they might depend on his hearty con-  
“ currence and encouragement. CONCLUDING,  
“ that it should be his endeavour to continue  
“ these blessings, by a punctual execution of the  
“ engagements then taken, and by maintaining  
“ the most perfect harmony, and good corre-  
“ pondence, with the friends and allies of Great  
“ Britain; assuring them that nothing should  
“ be

PART “be wanting, on his part, to make them a

X. “flourishing and happy people.” Both houses

returned very loyal and dutiful addresses to his  
 1749. majesty, congratulating him on the restoration of  
 peace to Europe, by the happy conclusion of a  
 definitive treaty, in which all his allies had con-  
 curred without reserve; declaring, that they  
 could not but admire the wisdom and conduct of  
 his majesty, by which he had, in so short a space  
 of time, reconciled and adjusted so many jar-  
 ring interests, and completed this great and neces-  
 sary work.

THE peace was proclaimed on the 1st of Fe-  
 bruary 1749, at Paris; on the 2d of February  
 at London; and about the same time at Vienna,  
 Madrid, and the Hague: magnificent fireworks  
 were played off, at the principal cities of the  
 contending powers, on this occasion: every one  
 seemed highly satisfied with the restoration of a  
 general tranquility; and, in pursuance of the  
 19th article of the definitive treaty, the eldest  
 son of the pretender to the British throne, was  
 obliged, by compulsory means, to retire out of  
 the dominions of France.

As all the military operations were terminated  
 by a general pacification, the contending powers  
 began to reduce their forces: the British ships of  
 war, continued in commission, were only six of  
 ninety guns, twelve of eighty, fourteen of se-  
 venty, twenty of sixty, nineteen of fifty, eleven  
 of forty, and eighteen of twenty, being seventy-  
 one ships of the line, and twenty-nine frigates,  
 besides sloops and tenders; for which 10,000  
 sailors were continued in the service of the royal  
 navy: the disbanded forces in the British service  
 consisted of the ten regiments of marines, with the  
 regiments of Bragg, Bruce, Pool, Batereau, Lou-  
 don,



don, Shirley, the Highland regiment, the forty-two additional companies; and 1,288 of the foot guards, being 33,000 foot, which; with 4,500 cavalry, made the whole reduction 37,500 men; so that only 18,857 men were continued on the British establishment, 11,850 in Ireland, four regiments at Gibraltar, and four at Minorca; besides the regiments on the American establishment. The Dutch made an immediate reduction of 12,000 men, his Sardinian majesty also made a considerable diminution in his forces; but the Empress Queen of Hungary continued 200,000 men in her service, and his Prussian Majesty made no reduction in his formidable army: the peace made no material alteration in the military force of Spain; though it gave his Sicilian majesty an opportunity of increasing his maritime strength: while his Britannic majesty was reducing his maritime power, the French monarch was carefully augmenting the naval force of France, nor was it long before the French had put their marine in so respectable a condition, as to boast of their ability to equip 100 ships of war on the first emergency, which were to be supported on a new footing, by the assignation of perpetual funds: the French monarch made no considerable reduction in his military force; a militia of 70,000 men was established; so that France soon gave sufficient indications of her capacity of renewing the terrors of war.

As the French were put into the re-possession of Cape Breton, it was natural for the British ministry to fix their attention on the cultivation and improvement of their long neglected settlement of Nova Scotia; where, by a proper colonization of Protestants in so valuable a tract of territory, more than an equal participation of the profits of the French fishery would fall to the



PART English ; a potent barrier would be erected for  
X. the security of the British provinces in North

1749. America ; and a perpetual seminary for sailors would be established. The Earl of Halifax was the principal promoter of a scheme so highly advantageous to the national interest, in which he was assisted by several other considerable persons ; who undertook this first essay of the improvement of the arts of peace, in pursuance of the royal recommendation from the throne. A proposal was presented, by the promoters of this valuable undertaking, to his Britannic majesty, for the establishing a civil government in Nova Scotia, as also for the better peopling and settling the province, and extending and improving the fishery thereof, by granting lands within the same, and giving other encouragements to such of the officers, and private men, lately dismissed his majesty's land and sea service, as should be willing to settle in so beneficial a province : upon which his majesty signified his royal approbation of the purport of such proposals ; and the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, on the 7th of March 1749, by the command of his majesty, gave notice, that proper encouragement would be given to such of the officers, and private men, lately dismissed his majesty's land and sea service, as were willing to accept of grants of land, and to settle, with or without families, in the province of Nova Scotia ; a grant of 50 acres of land, in fee simple, was promised to every private soldier, or seaman, free from the payment of any quit-rents or taxes for the term of ten years ; at the expiration whereof no person was to pay more than one shilling a year, for every fifty acres so granted ; and an additional grant of ten acres was promised to each private soldier, or sea-

seamen, having a family, for every person, including women and children, of which his family should consist: a grant of eighty acres, on the like conditions, was offered to every officer under the rank of ensign in the land service, and that of lieutenant in the sea service; and to such as had families, fifteen acres more, for every person of which their family consisted: a grant of 200 acres, on the like conditions, was offered to every ensign, 300 to every lieutenant, 400 to every captain, and 600 to every officer above the rank of captain in the land service; as also the like quantity of 400 acres; and, on the same conditions, to every lieutenant in the sea service, and 600 acres to every captain; and to such of the above-mentioned officers, as had families, a further grant of 30 acres was offered, over and above their respective quotas, for every person of which their families consisted: it was also promised that the lands should be parcelled out to the settlers as soon as possible after their arrival, and a civil government established; and that proper measures should also be taken for their security and protection; that the colonists should be subsisted during their passage, as also for the space of twelve months after their arrival; and that they should be furnished with arms and ammunition as far as would be judged necessary for their defence, with a proper quantity of materials and utensils for husbandry, clearing and cultivating their lands, erecting habitations, carrying on the fishery, and such other purposes as should be necessary for their support: it was also promised that, for the benefit of the settlement, the same conditions which were proposed to private soldiers, or seamen, should likewise be granted to carpenters, shipwrights, smiths, ma-

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V.

1749.

PART sons, joiners, brickmakers, bricklayers, and all  
 X. other artificers, necessary in building or husbandry, not being private soldiers, or seamen; and

1749. also that the same conditions as were proposed to those who had served in the capacity of ensign, should extend to all surgeons, whether they had been in his majesty's service or not, upon their producing proper certificates of their being duly qualified. A great number of disbanded soldiers, discharged sailors, poor artificers, and labourers, to the number of 4,000, accepted of these grants, and received orders for admission, with their families and effects, on board the eighty-four transports destined for this service, which were all ordered to have on board the ventilators invented by Dr Hales, and which soon after set sail under convoy of a squadron of men of war, with two regiments of soldiers on board, which were to continue in the province under the command of the Honourable Edward Cornwallis, Esq; who was appointed captain-general, and governor in chief, in, and over, the province of Nova Scotia, and who accompanied the colonists in their voyage. The whole fleet safely arrived at Nova Scotia; and, on the 21st of June, anchored in the bay of Chibouctou, in the very centre of the southern coast of the province, having Annapolis Royal on the left, and Canso on the right, where the Duke d'Anville intended to have made his descent in 1746: the governor immediately landed the troops and the colonists; a town was planned out at the head of Chibouctou harbour, which was soon built, fortified, and divided into lots, and called Halifax, in honour of the noble lord who principally assisted in promoting the establishment of the colony;



lony : every thing was carried on in a very prosperous condition, excepting some little disturbances by the native Indians ; who, through the intrigues of the French missionaries, were exasperated at the foundation of so formidable a settlement ; but these inconveniencies had all the appearance of a speedy reduction, and some thousands of German Protestants were sent over at the expence of the British government : the infant colony wore an auspicious aspect, promising not only to greatly over-balance the expence of the government, but to exceed all the real and imaginary advantages that might have resulted from the possession of Cape Breton ; for, in order to rival the French in the cod fishery, it was only necessary to confine them to the limits stipulated by the treaty of Utrecht, which excludes them from all the banks of Nova Scotia ; and it does not appear by that, or any other treaty, that they have a right to fish to the southward of Cape Bonavista on Newfoundland, between whose banks and the former there are no others of any note, or consequence : besides the island of Sable, and Cape Sable banks, on the south west coast of Nova Scotia, are so commodiously situated, as to admit of a fine fishery in the winter, whenever the country should be settled and stocked with provisions, which would, in a few years, be of more consequence to Great Britain, than any thing the French can be capable of prosecuting to support their rivalry at Cape Breton ; and by cultivating a good understanding with the natives of Nova Scotia, which the interest of the new colonists must incline them to do, even the Canadean French may grow less formidable in power, and insignificant in trade : so that, from this early appearance of the national utility

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1749.



PART utility of this necessary settlement, the inference  
 X. was obvious, that those eminent persons who first  
 promoted the establishment of the colony, and  
 1749. had thereby so zealously contributed to the glory  
 and interest of their country, must reap immortal honour for having so singularly distinguished themselves, as the generous authors of the happiness of many deplorable families, who might have lived a burthen to the community, and perished miserably at home.

SCARCE had the definitive treaty of peace been ratified, before the ministry of France began to indicate a speedy infraction of so solemn a deed : the submission of the British ministry in sending hostages to Paris, inspirited the French to a bolder attempt ; for they apprehended that Britain would tamely suffer an indignity that might contribute manifestly to the prejudice of her interest, as well as the diminution of her honour. While the British ministry were projecting the Protestant colonization of Nova Scotia, the ministry of Versailles fixed their attention on aggrandizing their power in the sugar colonies : orders were sent to the marquis de Caylus, the governor of Martinico, and the other French Windward islands in America, to fortify Tobago, one of the neutral islands, situate twenty miles north east of the island of Trinity, and 120 miles south of the island of Barbadoes, being thirty-two miles long, and twelve miles broad ; and which, by the treaty of Utrecht, as well as the islands St Vincent, St Lucia, and Dominica, was agreed to remain unsettled, and unfortified, till the right of sovereignty was determined ; though the British governor of Barbadoes, and the French governor of Martinico, both nominally stiled themselves governors of these islands.

The

The marquis de Caylus, on the 26th of November 1748, published a proclamation, asserting the sovereignty of France to Tobago, and the other neutral islands; declaring, that he would protect the inhabitants of Tobago, and prohibiting their having any correspondence, with the British, Dutch, or Danish colonies. The French governor, accordingly sent two men of war, with 150 soldiers, besides settlers, to fortify Tobago; where they arrived, and erected a battery, at Courlander's bay, on the old foundation; this intelligence was carried to Captain Tyrrel, who commanded the British ships on the station of Barbadoes; upon which Governor Greenville assembled the council of that island, and the result of this meeting was, to dispatch Captain Tyrrel, with the *Chesterfield* of forty guns, the *Richmond* of twenty, and the *Speedwel* sloop, to observe the French at Tobago; but this commander had only the mortification of perceiving the French fortifying the island, and preventing the English from cutting wood there, while his hands were tied up from making any resistance.

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IF the French were permitted to keep the possession of Tobago, Barbadoes would be of little value in peace, and of no safety in war: the merchants of London, trading to the West Indies, were as truly sensible as the inhabitants of Barbadoes, that the continuance of the latter to be a people, would depend on the success of the representation of this affair, for the effectual interposition of his Britannic majesty with the court of France. As soon as the declaration of the French governor relating to the settling of Tobago, was communicated to the British ministry, a courier was dispatched to Versailles, with directions for

Colonel York, the British resident there, to make remonstrances on this subject; who returned the courier with a declaration from the French ministry, utterly denying their having any knowledge of the proceedings of the governor of Martinico, with assurances that they had dispatched orders to him to desist from such proceedings. This declaration of the court of Versailles was represented, by a letter from the Duke of Bedford, to a numerous company of the merchants of London, who had assembled on this occasion: however the actions of the French were contradictory to their professions; they wanted nothing more than to establish the settlement of Tobago, though they pretended to be ignorant of what was transacting there; and they protracted the time so long, as to occasion the legislative body of Barbadoes to make several addresses and applications to his Britannic majesty, and his ministry, on this important affair, before they could obtain the evacuation of the island, which, at last, was procured by an order signed by the French monarch for evacuating that island, as well as St Vincent, St Dominica, and St Lucia; though the Marquis de Caylus, afterwards declared, in his dying moments, that he had positive directions from the French ministry concerning his conduct at Tobago.

A PRINCE engaged in a desperate war, ought, in prudence, to receive the overtures of peace, either when the enemy is ready to yield the point contended for, or when that point is found impossible to be ever obtained; or when contending any longer, though with probability of gaining that point at last, would put such a prince and his people in a worse condition than the



the present loss of it : all which considerations are of much greater force, where a war is managed by an alliance of many confederates, which in the variety of interests, among the several parties, is liable to so many unforeseen accidents : because, in a confederate war, it ought to be considered which party has the deepest share in the quarrel ; for though each may have their particular reasons, yet one or two among them will probably be more concerned than the rest, and therefore ought to bear the greatest part of the burthen, in proportion to their strength. Among the several parties who came first or last to act either as principals, or auxiliaries, in the present war, there were none but who, in proportion, had more to get or lose, to hope or to fear, from the good or ill success of it, than the British nation : the Queen of Hungary took up arms to defend herself from immediate ruin ; his most Catholic majesty, the King of Prussia, and the Elector of Bavaria, were all instigated, by France, to plunder and divide the extensive patrimony belonging to the House of Austria ; and France was in expectation of augmenting her frontier on the side of the Netherlands, as well as of procuring a sovereignty in Italy for another prince of the Bourbon family : his Sardinian majesty had equal fears and temptations to assist the House of Austria ; he was afraid of the too near proximity of France ; and he was not only certain of obtaining a large acquisition from the Austrian inheritance, but he was even confident of procuring the possession of Final ; besides the main charge of the war, on that side, was to be supplied by England, while both the glory and the profit redounded to him : the two republics of the United Provinces, and Genoa, took



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took up arms only for their own security ; and the other powers came in purely for subsidies : so that Great Britain, though not so immediately interested, was more active than the rest of the contending powers, and this only for the preservation and support of the Austrian inheritance. It has been observed, by a noble author, that the war with France, which was productive of the treaty of Utrecht, cost the British nation upwards of sixty millions in the whole, and left it fifty millions in debt ; besides, after repeated, as well as unexpected success in arms, putting the inhabitants, and their posterity, in a worse condition, not only than any of their allies, but even their conquered enemies ; however, by that treaty, the British confederates obtained a valuable augmentation of territory in the Netherlands, and therefore there could not be so much reason for complaining then, as there was in the present war, which, at the same time that it diminished the possessions of the house of Austria, left the enormous debt of eighty millions upon the British nation. Though the war with Spain was avowedly commenced to obtain an unmolested navigation in America, and to procure a proper satisfaction for the British South Sea company ; yet the definitive treaty stipulated nothing more than a suspension of arms between the two crowns, and the re-establishment of commerce between their subjects reciprocally, without mentioning a word of the differences which gave rise to the war in regard to America : by the 16th article of the definitive treaty, the *Asiento* trade was confirmed only for four years, though there was nine years non-enjoyment of the traffic ; the Spanish ministry were now as refractory in satisfying the demands

of

of the British South Sea company, as they were before the commencement of the war, notwithstanding the British troops had evacuated the island of Rattan; and they were even so intractable as to reject all the expedients offered, on this subject, by Mr Keene the British ambassador, who made the strongest solicitations for compromising the differences unadjusted by the definitive treaty. With regard to the Queen of Hungary, she found herself stript of the noble dutchy of Silesia, for an aggrandizement to his Prussian majesty, in Germany; in Italy she had made the cession of a very ample territory, as a recompence for the services of the King of Sardinia; and, to all this, she was finally obliged to surrender a whole sovereignty to the infant Don Philip. The Dutch were indeed re-established in all their territories: however the French succeeded in the scheme for which they kindled up the destructive flame of war; though they suffered extremely in their maritime interest, they still carefully protected the territorial property of their confederates; they still found a method of preventing the Spaniards from admitting the British subjects to a free navigation; and they had sufficiently, for this time, displumaged the wings of the Austrian eagle. Thus, after such a general effusion of blood, and such an expenditure of wealth, France found herself successful in her principal views: she consented to peace only to prepare and strengthen herself for the renewal of war; hence the settlement at Tobago; the revival of her negotiations in the north, where she was still predominant at the court of Stockholm, and where she renewed the subsidy treaty with his Danish majesty; hence the re-exertion of her political

political intrigues at Constantinople, where she obtained the deposition of the Mufti, the disgrace of the Grand Vizir, and endangered the safety of the Imperial Sultan, by irritating the turbulent Janizaries against every eminent Ottoman, who had recommended a pacific disposition; during the contentions among the Christian powers; hence the emissaries of France were again swarming in every court of Europe, her frontier fortifications repaired, her marine re-established and improved, and, what was still worse, the obtaining a new alliance in Italy with his Sardinian majesty, by promoting the marriage of the infanta Donna Maria, of Spain, with Victor Amadeus Maria, Prince of Piedmont. What may not the restless ambition of France attempt in the course of a few succeeding years? by her indefatigable attention to the augmentation of her maritime force, by maintaining a numerous army of veteran soldiers on foot, by providing herself with the most accomplished generals in Europe, and by reconciling other princes to her interest, her power ought to be dreaded; while her artifices ought to be detected, her schemes eluded, and her ambition opposed: for she now not only grounds her dependence on the crown of Spain, his Sicilian majesty, and the royal infant Don Philip, but she has also contracted a defensive alliance with the King of Sardinia; besides which, by continuing the Marquis de Cursay, with 6,000 French troops, in Corsica, she has the absolute ascendancy at Genoa; so that her power is too formidable in Italy: in the Netherlands her own force will be sufficient: in the north she can set the Swedish mastiff to worry the Russian bear, or bring the Ottoman wolves to ravage the  
the



the banks of the Volga : and in Germany she can depend on the Elector of Saxony ; she can confide in the King of Prussia ; and she may again extend her influence over several other princes of the Empire : while this potency can only be opposed by his Britannic majesty, the house of Austria, and the States General of the United Provinces, with such auxiliary forces as they can be able to procure : but it is to be hoped that Heaven will avert the sudden return of all the calamities of war, and prolong the public appearance of that inextinguishable blaze of ambition, which has desolated the plains of Europe, and, for six years, expelled tranquility from the neighbouring nations.

CHAP.  
V.

1749.

The END of the FOURTH VOLUME.



AN



THE  
MUSEUM  
OF  
THE  
CITY  
OF  
NEW  
YORK



MUSEUM

NEW YORK

THE  
MUSEUM  
OF  
THE  
CITY  
OF  
NEW  
YORK

*Revised from the original*

A N  
O D E  
O N T H E  
P E A C E:

Set to Musick, and performed by the  
MUSICAL SOCIETY.

Written by  
RICHARD ROLT.

————— *Victura feretur*  
*Gloria Trajani: non tam quod Tigride victo,*  
*Nostra triumphati fuerint provincia Parthi,*  
*Alta quod inuictus stratis capitolia Dacis:*  
*Quam patrie quod mitis erat.* —————

CLAUDIAN.

L O N D O N:  
PRINTED in the YEAR MDCCL!

O. D. E.

ON THE

POE A C E:

Set to Music, and performed by the

MUSICAL SOCIETY.



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CLAUDE

L O N D O N :

PRINTED BY THE YEAR MDCCCL.

**A N**  
**O D E**  
**ON THE**  
**P E A C E.**



**F I R S T.**

**A I R.**

**C**OME, ever-smiling PEACE! descend,  
MINERVA's olive wand extend;  
And while our festiye songs we raise,  
Extolling thine and CÆSAR's praise;  
Come, PLENTY's sister, FREEDOM's friend,  
From æther's plains, sweet PEACE! descend.

**R E C I T A T I V E.**

'Tis donel! — as when great NATURE's Lord  
Bid fair CREATION rise,  
Earth sprung, seas roll'd, and heav'ns galaxy fill'd the skies:  
Lo! thus, at BRUNSWIC's royal word,  
Rude chaos WAR re-sheaths the sword,  
And unrelenting FACTION dies:

**VOL. IV.**

**S f**

**Let**



( 642 )

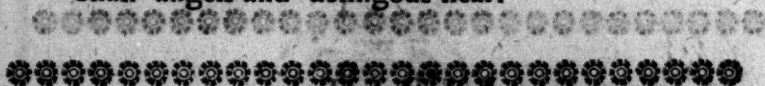
Let there be peace the monarch said ;  
Contending nations all obey'd ;  
Swift as the solar beam shot down the white-rob'd maid.

D U E T.

MUSES form your sacred choir,  
Breathe the flute, resound the lyre ;  
Of BRITAIN, GEORGE, and FREEDOM, sing,  
The noblest country, theme, and king.

C H O R U S.

Let FAME the full symphony join,  
And the chorus ascend to the sphere ;  
While pleas'd from their mansions divine,  
Shall angels and demigods hear.



S E C O N D.

R E C I T A T I V E.

The cannon's fatal roar,  
Erupts no more  
Hush, the soul-alarming drum !  
Shrill trumpets, martial files, be dumb !  
Your softer notes prepare,  
Gently breathe the LYTAN air ;  
Cease, cease, the prelude of inglorious war.

A I R.

Hark how, beneath the hawthorn spray,  
Each shepherd tunes the DORIC lay ;

While

( 643 )

While blythe Euphrosynè is seen,  
Gay-dancing o'er the village green;  
Where wanton PAN, with COMUS, reigns,  
Among the merry nymphs and swains.

### CHORUS.

Embattled legions quit the field,  
To wine, to love, to friendship yield:  
No more your thronging files advance;  
Through down the burnish'd falchion, helm, and lance;  
Partake the genial bowl, augment the sprightly dance.



### T H I R D.

#### A I R.

Let the PYRRHIC measure cease,  
Stop the clarion's lofty sound:  
Wreath'd with myrtle, bless'd with ease,  
Seek IRENE'S hallow'd ground.  
Come, chaste goddess! come, and bring  
All the garlands of the spring;  
All that decks the riper year,  
Hither, goddess! hither bear:  
Dear LIBERTY, do thou attend;  
Sweet HARMONY, thy graces lend;  
From TEMPE'S vale, or from AÏONIA'S bow'r,  
Hail, MUSES, hail the great SATURNIAN hour.

### R E C I T A T I V E.

Far as cerulean ocean rolls,  
From INDIAN GANGES to the POLES,  
BRITANNIA'S spacious navies ride,  
And waft home wealth with ev'ry tide.

### D U E T.

( 644 )

D U E T.

In ALBION SCIENCE rears her head ;  
The MUSES here exalt their reign :  
Here smiling PLENTY crowns the mead ;  
And boundless FREEDOM fills the plain.

C H O R U S.

To FREEDOM, to PEACE, hark, the full consort swells,  
The shrill trumpets sound, and the deep organs blow ;  
All EUROPE has peace, but here LIBERTY dwells,  
And BRITONS alone all her blessings shall know,

F I N I S.



D U E T.

